Daily Report

East Europe

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CONTENTS

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

'Communique' From Foreign Ministers Meeting *[Moscow PRAVDA 31 Mar]* 1
'Appeal' to NATO, CSCE Countries *[Moscow PRAVDA 31 Mar]* 3
Marothy Speaks on New CEMA Environment Group *[MTI]* 5

BULGARIA

Atanasov To Visit Iraq 'Within Next Few Days' 6
Atanasov Receives New Soviet Envoy Sharapov 6
'Great Concern' at Chemical Weapons Use in Gulf 6
Sofia City Council Approves 1988 Plan, Budget 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AFP Interviews Dubcek on Perestroyka 7
Labor Code Amendments Submitted for Debate 7
Meeting Discusses Code 8
Beno Discusses Amendments *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Mar]* 8
Roundtable Discussion on Environment Held *[RUDE PRAVO 11 Mar]* 10
Obzina Discusses Environmental Issues *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Mar]* 12
Kubat on Questions on Electronics Industry 14
Commentary on Foreign Ministers' Conferenc 16
Pact Appeal to NATO Viewed 16
Results of Conference Examined 16
Joint Maneuvers With Soviet Army Come to End *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Mar]* 17
Jakes To Pay Official Visit to Hungary 17
Marshal Kulikov Awards Vaclavik Order of Lenin 18
Tatra Members Talk of Detention in Guatemala 18

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

500 Reported Arrested in Berlin Jan-Mar *[Hamburg DPA]* 19
More on GDR, West Berlin Territory Exchange 19
Further on Sindermann's Visit to India 19
Meets With CP Official 19
Pays Visit to Bombay 20
Leaders' Public Appearances 17-23 Mar *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND]* 20

HUNGARY

Grosz Toast for Willi Stoph at Dinner *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 30 Mar]* 21
Official Outlines Change in Price Policy 22
Basis of New Socialist Model Sought *[MAGYAR NEMZET 12 Mar]* 23
Briefs 23
Gypsy Education Institute 23
Consular Agreement With Syria 23
Agricultural Cooperation With SFRY 23
Production Cooperation With USSR 23
Industrial Talks With Egypt 23
Economic Talks With Canada 24
Syrian Ba'th Party Delegation 24

POLAND

Communique Issued on USIS Head Wick's Visit *[TRYBUNA LUDU 30 Mar]* 25
Trade Minister, U.S. Ambassador Davis Meet 25
Lagging Economic Cooperation With UK Viewed *[TRYBUNA LUDU 28 Mar]* 25
Orzechowski Cites 'Unchanging' Foreign Policy 26
Third Round of Price Hikes in Effect *[AFP]* 28
Planning Body Urges Cut in Government Orders 28
Operations of New Capital Funding Body Noted *[GLOS ROBOTNICZY 11 Mar]* 28
Socioeconomic Council Examines 'Social Wrongs' *[SLOWO POWSZECHNE 29 Mar]* 30
Leaders Discuss People's Council Elections 31
Oppositionist Queried on Solutions to Crisis *[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI 27 Mar]* 31
Leaders' Public Appearances 23-29 Mar *[TRYBUNA LUDU]* 32

YUGOSLAVIA

SFRY-USSR Long-Term Economic Program *[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 13]* 34
Mikulic To Pay Official Visit to Hungary 36
Zemljaric on Results of Economic Policies 36
Zagreb Prosecutor Bans Student Periodical 39
Vlasi Interviewed on Kosovo Problems *[RILINDJA 26 Mar]* 39
Conclusion of Interview *[RILINDJA 27 Mar]* 42

'Communique' From Foreign Ministers Meeting

PM301551 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 88 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Communique of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers' Session"]

[Text] A routine session of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance was held in Sofia 29-30 March 1988.

Taking part in the session were: Bulgarian Foreign Minister P. Mladenov; Hungarian Foreign Minister P. Varkonyi; GDR Foreign Minister O. Fischer; Polish Foreign Minister M. Orzechowski; Romanian Foreign Minister I. Totu; USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze; and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister B. Chnoupek.

1. The session examined a wide range of international—above all, European—problems, and discussed priority tasks in the further development and strengthening of positive trends in the international situation. Stating that the situation in Europe and the world as a whole remains relatively complex and contradictory, the ministers stressed the urgent need to move the disarmament process forward and to create a nuclear-free, nonviolent world. It is important that all states refrain from any actions that might complicate this process. We must not allow disarmament in one area to be accompanied by the simultaneous launch of an arms race in other areas.

The session adopted an appeal to the NATO states and all the CSCE countries.

2. The session participants advocated the speediest conclusion of the ratification process for the treaty concluded between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which, it is generally recognized, is of historic importance.

They view the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles as a first step which should be followed by new agreements aimed at reducing strategic offensive weapons, preventing an arms race in space, ensuring the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear tests, eliminating nuclear, chemical, and other types of mass destruction weaponry, reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, cutting military spending, and resolving other security and disarmament issues.

The ministers expressed the conviction that the conclusion of an agreement between the USSR and the United States to halve their strategic offensive weapons while observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and not withdrawing from that treaty for an agreed period would be a fundamental measure in the disarmament sphere. USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze briefed the participants on the progress of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on nuclear and space arms and on other contacts with U.S. representatives on this subject. There was total support for the Soviet side's position.

The session participants stressed the need to abandon any intention to "compensate" in any way whatsoever for the nuclear arms due to be scrapped under the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

The Soviet Union's withdrawal from the GDR and the CSSR—by agreement with them—of Soviet OTR-22 missiles even before the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles came into force was seen by the countries represented at the session as a manifestation of goodwill in the nuclear disarmament process.

3. The ministers had an in-depth exchange of opinions on questions of disarmament, the strengthening of security, confidence-building, and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation in Europe, and expressed their states' readiness to expand constructive dialogues with other countries to that end.

Session participants stressed that the inviolability of the postwar borders on the continent, respect for the present-day territorial-political realities, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and strict observance of the universally recognized principles and standards of international law are a precondition for the maintenance of lasting peace and security in Europe. Any attempts to question these realities and their unshakeable nature will continue to be most resolutely repulsed. They pointed out here that the activity of revanchist forces and the encouragement of revanchism wherever it may be runs counter to the interest of detente and security, the treaties and agreements signed in the seventies, and the Helsinki Final Act.

4. The session participants expressed the firm intention of their countries to seek substantial cuts in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe ranging from the Atlantic to the Urals and the earliest start to relevant talks. If the danger posed by a surprise attack is to be avoided it is essential to pay special attention to cutting those kinds of armaments which form the basis of armed forces' offensive might, including tactical nuclear weapons. The historically formed asymmetries and imbalances in the conventional weapons sphere in Europe would be removed on a mutual basis by reductions on the part of the side which has superiority in a particular kind of armaments. This would meet the principles of equal and identical security of the sides and the interests of all European countries. All steps would be taken on the basis of the exchange of necessary data under an effective system of verification and monitoring.

Armed forces, conventional arms, and military equipment, including dual-purpose systems without their nuclear component, would be the subject of talks. The nuclear component of dual-purpose systems itself would

be the subject of separate talks. Such talks should not be long delayed. The Warsaw Pact states remain ready to hold them simultaneously with talks on conventional arms and confirm their declared aim of completely eliminating tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

5. Session participants analyzed the results of the work carried out at the Vienna meeting and noted that the forum has come very close to the crucial point of adopting a political decision which would further strengthen security and cooperation in Europe.

The Warsaw Pact states expressed their resolve to seek to crown the Vienna meeting with the kind of accords which would, based on all the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, put all spheres of the all-European process on a qualitatively new level, develop the dynamics of real disarmament on the continent, enable even more substantial and effective confidence- and security-building measures to be taken, provide a powerful impetus to deepening economic, scientific, and technical cooperation and collaboration in the sphere of culture and in all other humanitarian aspects, and create mutual understanding and respect.

The countries represented at the session advocate intensifying the work of the Vienna meeting in all areas. For their part they are ready to help in every possible way to draft a meaningful and balanced final document there.

The proposal to complete the Vienna meeting at the level of CSCE foreign ministers was confirmed. This would enable the ministers to hold an exchange of opinions on questions of the further deepening of the all-European process and begin talks at the forums on confidence- and security-building measures and on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

The interests of all the European peoples would be served by the creation of an indivisible Europe of peace and cooperation, an "all-European home" in which an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust would be established.

Confirming the position of their states regarding the need to overcome the division of Europe into opposing military blocs, the ministers again advocated the simultaneous disbandment of the North Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Pact with the elimination of their military organizations as the first step.

6. The ministers noted that improvements in the sphere of nuclear disarmament are creating more favorable preconditions for the adoption at a regional level in Europe of measures aimed at reducing military confrontation and strengthening trust and security. In this connection they confirmed the great importance of implementing the proposals put forward by their states either jointly or inidvidually.

The states represented at the session expressed full support for and stressed their readiness to help to implement the following:

the Bulgarian and Romanian proposals on the creation in the Balkans of a nuclear- and chemical-weapons free zone and on the development of relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation among the countries of that region;

the GDR and CSSR proposals on the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone in Central Europe;

the Polish plan on the reduction of armaments and the enhancement of trust in Central Europe, which would be of great significance for reducing the danger of a surprise attack and developing the process of disarmament and strengthening trust on the continent;

and the CSSR's comprehensive new initiative on the creation along the line of contact between the two alliances of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations aimed at the further development of the all-European process.

The ministers welcomed the joint proposal put forward in Hungary, Finland, and Italy containing an appeal to states not possessing nuclear weapons to step up their efforts in the interests of promoting the cause of disarmament in Europe.

7. The ministers believe the efforts aimed at strengthening stability in Europe must be augmented by resolute measures to reduce military activeness in the seas and oceans around the continent. They confirmed their support for the USSR's proposals on radical reducing military confrontation in northern Europe and the Arctic as a whole, on transforming that region into a zone of peace and cooperation, and on holding the necessary talks, consultations, and meetings among interested states for that purpose.

Emphasis was also placed on the need to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace, security, and cooperation. The session participants positively rated the proposals aimed at achieving this and advocated the consistent and complete implementation of the sections of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Final Document concerning security and cooperation in the Mediterranean. The ministers welcomed the USSR's continuing readiness to withdraw its navy, including nuclear-weapon carrying ships, from the Mediterranean—on a reciprocal basis with the United States—and its new initiatives aimed at limiting the potential of the naval forces stationed there, coordinating confidence measures regarding this region, and ensuring the safety of shipping lanes.

8. The states represented at the session positively assess the results of the Belgrade meeting of Balkan states' foreign ministers as a contribution to the easing of tension and the creation of an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and mutual understanding in the Balkans. They support the readiness expressed at the meeting to continue and deepen the bilateral and multilateral dialogue at all levels, including summit level, for the purpose of strengthening peace, mutual understanding, security, and cooperation in this region.

9. The participants in the session attach particular importance to the Third UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament, the most representative world forum in this sphere, and proceed from the premise that its work will affirm the concept of security through disarmament and the other stipulations formulated in the final document of the First Special Session on Disarmament. They expect that the forthcoming special session will, on the basis of detailed analysis of the most important aspects of the arms race and disarmament talks, map out the main avenues for disarmament and strengthening of security, give a positive impetus to all relevant bilateral and multilateral talks, and adopt a decision on improving the negotiating and consultative mechanisms in this sphere and above all on boosting the efficiency of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. The ministers advocate that the session's final document should be as meaningful and as specific as possible.

10. The ministers positively assessed the document, adopted by the 42d UN General Assembly Session, on the creation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security, which lays foundations for the development and deepening of international dialogue in this sphere. They advocated the continuation of consultations with all interested states on different aspects of the shaping of such a system, and emphasized the great importance of solving specific military-political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian questions for this purpose.

11. The states represented at the session confirmed the need for all countries to strictly respect the principles of national independence and sovereignty, the nonuse or threat of force, inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, peaceful solution of disputes, noninterference in internal affairs, equality, and the other principles and objectives of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and other norms of international relations.

12. The session participants exchanged opinions on the seats of tension and conflicts existing in the world. They emphasized the need for their earliest possible political settlement and affirmed the determination of their states to actively contribute to this.

The ministers affirmed their countries' stance on the question of achieving a fair and all-embracing settlement and ensuring lasting peace in the Near East. They deem it extremely necessary to convene for this purpose an international conference under UN auspices with equal participation by all interested sides including the PLO and the permanent members of the Security Council, and advocate that preparations for it be speeded up by using, among other things, the potential of the UN Security Council. The ministers condemned the Israeli authorities' actions on the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip.

The ministers expressed serious concern in connection with the current escalation of the Iran-Iraq conflict. They spoke in favor of building up international efforts with a view to the earliest possible implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No 598. They noted the important role played by the United Nations and its secretary general for the settlement of this conflict.

An exchange of opinions took place in connection with the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva. Support was expressed for the course of achieving national reconciliation in Afghanistan and the earliest possible political settlement of the situation on the basis of a halt to all interference in this country's internal affairs and respect for its independence and sovereignty. The ministers advocate the earliest-possible conclusion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks and the signing of documents constituting a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, which will make it possible to embark on the withdrawal of Soviet troops. It was noted that the solution of internal Afghan problems is a matter only for the Afghans themselves.

The ministers advocated a fair political settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of respect for the independence, unity, territorial integrity, and nonalignment policy of the Republic of Cyprus.

13. The session participants examined questions of cooperation among the allied countries in the foreign policy sphere and the state of these countries' collaboration in the world arena, and expressed their intention to continue to deepen and develop it.

The session proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. The next session will be held in Budapest.

'Appeal' to NATO, CSCE Countries

PM301547 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 88 First Edition p 5

["Appeal to the NATO Member States and All Countries Participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The signing of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was an event of historic significance in international life and a victory for a realistic policy. Its attainment was promoted by the

actions of many states and the actions of antiwar movement and peace-loving forces on all continents. The treaty confirms the possibility of nuclear disarmament and the creation of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

The treaty is only a beginning. The main thing today is, while preserving and utilizing everything positive that made it possible to conclude the treaty, consistently to increase the efforts of each and every state with the aim of making the disarmament process continuous and irreversible and concluding new agreements aimed at further reducing the stockpiled arsenals of weapons and leading to the establishment of military equilibrium on an ever lower level and the elimination of the danger of war on the European continent and throughout the world.

A real opportunity is opening up before Europe—to ensure lasting security through a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional arms, the elimination on both sides of the potential for a surprise attack, and the continent's total liberation from nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction.

Proceeding on this basis, the Warsaw Pact states consider it necessary for the efforts of all countries to be concentrated on resolving the following priority tasks:

—Ensuring the entry into force of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and its implementation.

—The conclusion in the first half of 1988 of a USSR-U.S. treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms and an agreement on strict compliance with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and on nonwithdrawal from that treaty for an agreed term.

—A general and complete ban on nuclear weapons tests and the acceleration of progress toward this goal through the elaboration at Soviet-U.S. talks on a nuclear test ban of an accord on additional verification measures in the interests of the speedy ratification of the 1974 and 1976 USSR-U.S. treaties and the attainment of an agreement on a further reduction in the capacity and number of nuclear explosions.

—The completion in 1988 of the drafting of a convention on banning chemical weapons and eliminating stockpiles. It should make provision for reliable monitoring and verification procedures, including compulsory inspections on request without the right of refusal. The stepping up of openness and the creation of an atmosphere of trust would be promoted by holding in the near future a multilateral exchange of relevant data in connection with the drafting of the convention.

—The speediest completion at the 23d consultations within the framework of the Vienna meeting of CSCE states of work to agree on a mandate for talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and the commencement of such talks in 1988. These aims would be promoted by holding as soon as possible an exchange of data on the armed forces and conventional arms of the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO in Europe. Advocating a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional arms with a corresponding reduction in military expenditure, the Warsaw Pact states are prepared in the course of these talks to uncover and eliminate on a reciprocal basis the existing asymmetries and imbalances both on an all-European scale and for individual regions.

—The commencement of separate talks on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including nuclear components of dual-purpose systems, and the subsequent elimination of such weapons.

—The implementation by the Warsaw Pact states and NATO of a comparison of military doctrines, taking military-technical aspects into account, with a view to giving the military doctrines and concepts of the two military alliances and their participants a strictly defensive thrust.

—The development and expansion at the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe of the confidence-building measures adopted during the first stage of its work, in parallel with the elaboration of a new generation of confidence- and security-building measures, including the limitation of the number and scale of military exercises and the extension of confidence-building measures to the activity of air and naval forces.

—The creation of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans and in Central and Northern Europe, arms cuts and confidence building in Central Europe, the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and zone of trust and a reduced level of armaments along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the commencement of the process of limiting military activity and lowering the level of military confrontation in Northern and Southern Europe, and the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation.

—The commencement of talks attended by the major naval powers, particularly states possessing nuclear weapons, and also other interested states on limiting and prohibiting naval activity in agreed areas, limiting and reducing naval armaments, and extending confidence-building measures to seas and oceans to safeguard security and freedom of navigation.

—The declaration of a moratorium for 1-2 years on increasing military expenditure by the Warsaw Pact and NATO states with a view to its further effective reduction.

—The activation of practical and purposeful work at the Geneva Disarmament Conference to adopt effective measures leading to the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, nuclear disarmament, and the prevention of an arms race in space, in such a way that bilateral and multilateral talks on these problems complement one another and pursue a common aim.

To achieve and successfully implement accords in all these spheres, particular significance would attach to ensuring greater glasnost and predictability in the military sphere, exchanging the requisite information, and creating a rigorous and effective system for monitoring and verifying the pledges adopted by the sides.

The solution of the aforementioned tasks will contribute to the further improvement of the situation in Europe and will lead to a considerable reduction of the military threat, stronger confidence, and the development of multifaceted cooperation on the continent.

The foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states confirm their states' proposals on eliminating military bases and withdrawing foreign forces from other countries' territories and note that their implementation would be a substantial contribution to strengthening stability and security in Europe and in the world.

There is a growing belief in the world that nuclear war must never be unleashed and can have no victors, that it is necessary to prevent any war, either nuclear or conventional, and that the creation of a safe world demands the demonstration of new thinking and a new approach to questions of war and peace, and presupposes the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and the abandonmment of the concepts of "nuclear deterrence" and the policy of force and threat of force in interstate relations.

The arms eliminated in the process of disarmament and cuts must not be replaced by others and barriers must be placed in the way of any new avenues of the arms race. The implementation of the ideas of "compensation" and the improvement and development of new systems, be they nuclear, chemical, or conventional, would conflict with the fundamental interests of the peoples of Europe who want the continent to be rid of the weapons that have accumulated there.

The Warsaw Pact states urgently appeal to the NATO countries and to all European states to take advantage of the historic opportunity and continue through joint efforts to move along the path of disarmament and the strengthening of security and cooperation in all areas. They, for their part, will do everything incumbent on them to that end.

Marothy Speaks on New CEMA Environment Group

LD312228 Budapest MTI in English
1945 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow, March 31 (MTI)—By today in the relation of man and nature such a situation has developed when the safeguarding of the environment and its protection is no longer simply a matter of money. First of all transformation of the thinking which penetrates the totality of the human activity is needed on an international scale—said Laszlo Marothy, HSWP Political Committee member and minister of environmental protection and water management who gave an interview to an MTI correspondent on the occasion of setting up a permanent CMEA commission on the subject.

"Environmental protection or rather environmental management means only in part the efforts to restore the balance. The major direction of the work should be prevention. A change over is needed to another track of mankind's development which is not self-fermenting, and calculates with the results of production in real terms. It is not reduction of production and consumption which is needed but all these processes should be penetrated in full by the recognition which calculates with the necessity of safeguarding the environment—said the Hungarian minister.

"The protection of the environment is not the task of a single group or movement, it is even not only a party or government task, but it a cause for the entire society, he said. Nowadays all over the world it is recognized that this could be accomplished by persuasion and social mobilization. The work cannot be carried out within national boundaries but by world wide joining of forces.

This recognition is present in each CMEA country. Cooperation in this field is not without precedents. At the founding session the commission took on the obligation to carry the programmes of the previous two commissions to the end. The formation of the permanent commission is new, not only in organization, and should entail renewal of the actual work. At present there is exploration of the work and the resources for their accomplishment.

In addition to the continuation of the programmes on the reasonable use of the natural resources and protection of nature, the new quality should be represented by the development of the approach. This is, however, accomplished if within the CMEA the environmental protection is not only a simple professional task but is present at each level of the cooperation and penetrates the whole activity of the CMEA, concluded Laszlo Marothy.

Atanasov To Visit Iraq 'Within Next Few Days'
AU311707 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] At the invitation of the Iraqi Government, Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, will make an official friendly visit to Iraq within the next few days.

Atanasov Receives New Soviet Envoy Sharapov
AU311916 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Viktor Sharapov, the newly appointed Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria.

The meeting was attended by Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

'Great Concern' at Chemical Weapons Use in Gulf
AU311823 Sofia BTA in English 1718 GMT 31 Mar 88

["For Ceasing the Iran-Iraq Conflict"-BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 31 (BTA)—A representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria told a BTA correspondent:

Recently there have been a number of reports about the use of chemical weapons in the Iran-Iraq conflict which has affected many people. These reports are giving rise to great concern among the Bulgarian public.

As is known, Bulgaria is for the final stopping of the Iran-Iraq conflict as soon as possible and for the settling of the disputes between these two countries by political means.

Bulgaria is categorically against the use of chemical weapons, as a violation of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 banning the use of poisonous gases in war, as well as the use of bacteriological weapons. The violation of the Geneva Protocol contradicts the norms of civilized behavior and humaneness and cannot be justified by any considerations whatsoever.

In this connection Bulgaria appeals the fighting countries to refrain from the use of these inhuman mass destruction weapons.

Sofia City Council Approves 1988 Plan, Budget
AU311918 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Today Sofia City People's Council held a session in the Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture, during which the council approved the plan for the capital's technical, scientific, socioeconomic, and intellectual development for the current year, the budget of the Sofia City People's Council, and the program for fulfilling the instructions of the electors during the new term of office.

The most characteristic features of the restructuring of the capital's economy in practice, it was stressed in the report, are the preparations that have begun for placing socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives, the bringing into effect of the economic mechanism for self-management, and the formation of the new territorial communities and municipalities.

The draft plan has been drawn up under the conditions of an equal dialogue between the municipal people's councils and the self-managing enterprises within Sofia. Especial attention is paid to a qualitatively new attitude toward using the capital's labor resources and the problems of protecting and reproducing the environment.

It is envisaged that construction to the value of about 1 billion leva is to be completed this year, and resources in this sector are to be directed toward solving the tasks connected with technological renewal and toward integrated housing construction, sports and communications projects, and the material-technical basis for health care and education.

AFP Interviews Dubcek on Perestroyka
AU010644 Paris AFP in English
0637 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Michel Conrath report]

[Text] Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, April 1 (AFP)—Former Czechoslovak leader Alexander Dubcek, whose own "Prague Spring" liberalization efforts were crushed by Soviet tanks in 1968, voiced hope here that Moscow's current reforms would also shape Czechoslovakia.

In an interview with AFP, Mr. Dubcek, who was Communist Party first secretary for 15 months before he was ousted in April 1969, said he still held out hope that the three-year-old Soviet restructuring (perestroyka) policies would end up having a positive effect on Czechoslovakia.

Milos Jakes, who became party leader in December, has outlined a programme of thorough, protracted reforms modelled on perestroyka. He has however rejected any parallel with Mr. Dubcek's policies, which he has termed as "an action led by right-wing forces" out to destroy the socialist system.

Mr. Dubcek said he welcomed "each positive move on the part of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's Central Committee towards implementing current Soviet Communist experiments with the policy of renewal.

But he said: "I can't help seeing what is lacking in current official policy...on the path to resurrecting Czechoslovak society..."

He added: "I don't think we can expect social and material successes in our country without boosting the moral spirit and the self-awareness of the great mass of people.

"(Otherwise) one can govern, but one cannot lead. Leading a country implies winning the conscious will of the people to let themselves be led," he said.

"Our whole society could be changed if one applied, in accordance with 'The New Thinking', a new perspective to the current policy of party and state leadership," he added.

The New Thinking is the title of the latest book by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the architect of perestroyka.

Asked about his own situation, Mr. Dubcek, 66, who lives in this eastern Czech town, said that over the past year he had found a new measure of freedom.

"The state police are no longer on my heels since Mikhail Gorbachev's visit" here in 1987, he said.

This did not mean however that he was free to meet whom he pleased "in normal conditions", he added.

Mr. Dubcek, who is now retired after working as a forestry administration inspector, also deplored that ousted Communist leaders were not able to "defend themselves" from lies, notably by putting forward their point of view in non socialist publications.

"As one knows, I'm still (like many others) categorized as a representative of the opportunistic anti-socialist and anti-Soviet right," Mr. Dubcek said.

"Perhaps in these times we are living in, one cannot have everything at the same time — rights and duties (...), acknowledgement of the right to honour, to truth and to power," he said.

He said he appreciated however being recognized in the street by ordinary people who greeted him, or even at times by army officers "who, perhaps a little mechanically, salute me."

To those who have suggested he has not shown himself critical enough of his own past mistakes at the head of the party, Mr. Dubcek said that this "made no difference to the causes of military intervention and to the policy which ensued as this was determined by outside forces."

Labor Code Amendments Submitted for Debate
LD212224 Prague CTK in English
1818 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, the Federal Government, the National Front, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the Central Council of Cooperatives and the Union of Cooperative Farmers today submitted for public discussion draft amendments to the Labour Code.

The purpose of the amendments to the Labour Code, which has been in force for 20 years, is to react to the fundamental changes in economic management, deepen socialist democracy, strengthen social certainties, work discipline and order in all branches of the economy and administration. The amendments are aimed at increasing the mobility of manpower, at its more rational distribution and raising the authority and responsibility of executives.

The draft amendments stipulate relations between economic organizations and their employees according to the new regulations arising from the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia.

Under the draft amendments wages will be dependent on the quantity, quality and social significance of work as well as on the overall results of the work team and the sole enterprise.

It will be easier for enterprises to give notice to an employee whose work is unsatisfactory. There will be a uniform length of notice—two months—for both the

enterprise and employees. Breaches of work discipline are to be penalized by fines constituting up to 15 per cent of the basic wage for a period of three months as against the present 10 per cent. The list of reasons for giving notice immediately is to be enlarged and enterprises will have the duty to punish workers for producing rejects.

Greater attention will paid to raising the qualification of workers. Employees will be entitled to requalification and the enterprise will be obliged to provide for the requalification if its employee required due to changes in the organization of labour.

In order to cope with the shortage of manpower in services, during harvest work, and in other spheres, there will be more flexibility in taking on side-line jobs as the consent of the main employer will no longer be required.

For the sake of improving care for children in one-parent families, the mother or father will have certain advantages, e.g. they cannot be given notice when caring for a child under three and can have their working hours changed. People who care for helpless family members or relatives can also have their working hours changed.

The draft amendments of the Labour Code emphasize the necessity of mutually balanced rights and duties between the organization and the worker, the strengthening of the basic principles of remuneration for the results of work and overcoming egalitarianism. The draft provides for a greater participation of the working people in the management and control of the activities of the enterprise, increases the role of the trade unions in autonomy and in defending the interests of the workers.

The public discussion on the draft amendments will last till May 21. The changes in the Labour Code will apply to eight and a half million working people in this country.

Meeting Discusses Code

LD222156 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] A statewide meeting was held in Prague today to discuss the contents and political organizational safeguarding of public debate on the principles of the amendments to the labor code.

Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke in his opening address about the ideological understanding of the amendments it links with the conclusions of the seventh session of the party's Central Committee. He stressed that the decision to submit this document for public debate stems from the demands for the consistent implementation of the political course of the 17th CPCZ Congress, realizing the principles of public information, open policies, and broad democratization. The amendments to the labor code are being prepared within the framework of the entire set of legislative alterations that constitute an organic component of restructuring of the economic mechanism and other sections of social life. From this stems the overall understanding of the proposed amendments to the law and the principles of the organization and ideological-political direction of public discussion.

In the next part of his address Comrade Mikulas Beno noted the causes of the need to amend the labor code. He said that some legal norms have become obsolete because they correspond to conditions of a predominantly extensive type of development and their influence does not adequately affect the initiative of the working people. He then discussed some basic questions from the viewpoint of linking the amendments to the labor code with the broadest political and social economic factors connected with restructuring. When he spoke about the content orientation of the discussion, he stressed the importance of socialist legality as one of the directions of the revolutionary restructuring of society that has an exceptionally important place. We want, Comrade Mikulas Beno said, the discussion of the amendments to the labor code not to be separated from the specific conditions and experiences, problems and worries of citizens.

In his address at today's statewide conference, he also concentrated attention on reinforcing labor discipline and order as a serious social issue that requires a comprehensive solution, making the existing sanctions stricter in order to be able to punish more efficiently poor working morale, unjustified absence, dishonest work, nonadherence to working hours, and other negative phenomena, such as alcoholism and drug addiction.

In the next part of his address Comrade Mikulas Beno discussed implementation of socialist norms in remuneration. In conclusion, he noted the Communists irreplaceable political, unifying, and organizational responsibility and tasks in discussing the principles of the amendments to the labor code at all sections.

The explanation of the main principles and amendments was presented at the statewide meeting in Prague by Vladimir Marik, federal deputy minister of labor and social affairs.

Beno Discusses Amendments

AU311339 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Mar 88 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Start of the Public Debate in Labor Collectives; A Statewide Consultative Meeting on the Principles of Amendments to the Labor Code"]

[Excerpts] A statewide consultative meeting on the contents and political-organizational safeguarding of the public debate on the principles of amendments to the Labor Code was held in Prague on Tuesday [22 March]. Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke at the meeting comprehensively about the

ideological and political concept of the proposed Labor Code amendments and about their links with the conclusions of the Seventh Session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The decision to submit the document to a public debate, M. Beno said, proceeds from the requirement of a consistent implementation of the political line of the 17th CPCZ Congress, from the application of the principles of public access to information, a policy of openness, and wide-ranging democratization. The Labor Code amendments are being prepared within the framework of a whole package of legislative changes that constitute an organic component of the restructurin? of the economic mechanism and other spheres of social life. From this also follow the overall concept of the proposed legislative changes and the ideological and political orientation of the public debate.

Labor laws, the secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee said, are among the major instruments of asserting the objectives of restructuring, since they govern the integration of man, the most important subject, into the work process. [passage omitted]

In the next part of his speech, Mikulas Beno referred to the reasons that have made it necessary to amend the Labor Code. He said that some legislative norms have become outdated because they conform with the conditions of a predominantly extensive type of development and do not influence the initiative of the working people in the requisite direction. In a number of areas, the legal codification of labor laws has ceased to comply with the new needs characteristic of the present stage of dynamic development and of taking up important revolutionary changes. [passage omitted]

Comrade Mikulas Beno then discussed some basic questions from the viewpoint of linking the amendments to the Labor Code with the broadest political and socioeconomic factors connected with restructuring. The legal codification of the status of the employee and the employing organization in the production and labor process is of fundamental social importance. It will affect 8.5 million Czechoslovak citizens. However, no labor code, no matter how perfect, can secure the requisite targets, that is, deal with the questions of labor discipline, of tightening discipline, enhancing the authority of managerial personnel, labor-technological discipline, the standard of management, and so forth, on its own. The law is only a medium, an instrument. It can operate effectively only if it is correctly enforced, if social conditions and the requisite sociopolitical climate have been created for it, and if it operates in harmony with other legislative, economic, moral, and political norms.

Speaking about the orientation of the contents of the debate, he said that attention should be devoted to socialist legality as one of those directions of the revolutionary restructuring of society that occupy an exceptionally important place and are of fundamental significance. [passage omitted]

It is important that, right from the beginning, the rights of citizens, the employing organization, as well as society be defended and respected fully and clearly. [passage omitted] We want, Mikulas Beno stressed, the discussion on the principles of amendments to the Labor Code not to be separated from the specific conditions and experiences, problems, and worries of citizens. This is urgently called for by the policy of acceleration, restructuring, and deepening democratic forms.

What matters in the first place is a deepening of the relationship between the organization and the employee under the conditions of restructuring. The basic point of departure is a dialectical unity of, and balance between, the interests of society as a whole, the interests of economic organizations, and individual interests; between rights and duties; between incentives and accountability; and between wide-ranging democracy, self-management, and socialist discipline. These are highly sensitive, keenly contested, and topical issues of public life, which, on the threshold of economic reform, are developing in a new quality in many respects. This also goes for the relationship between socialist entrepreneurship and risk-taking, between legal guarantees and self-financing; and between full-fledged economic accountability on enterprise level and rational economic accountability on the level of enterprise subdivisions.

In everyday life there is a great deal of indifference, complacency, and inconsistency on the part of economic and other officials and agencies, or even party, trade union, and other organizations. The ongoing annual members meetings and party conferences and working people's comments, suggestions, and letters also draw attention to this. These are urgent issues that must be tackled everywhere and without delay.

The reinforcement of labor discipline and order is a serious social problem that requires a comprehensive solution. Existing sanctions must be rendered more severe to make it possible to more effectively and flexibly punish poor working morale, absence without valid excuse, dishonest work, nonadherence to working hours, and other negative phenomena such as alcoholism and drug addiction. What matters is to have at one's disposal a wide-ranging arsenal of moral and educational means, but also direct and immediately effective sanctions, to protect the interests of the honest majority of people, to protect the labor collectives, against such phenomena.

It is beyond dispute that political-educational work, the atmosphere of relations within a collective, the standard of management and labor organization, and the functioning of the local political system—self-evidently under the party's political guidance and with communists setting an example—exert the crucial impact on conscious discipline and order, on people's attitude to work and their collective. That is why authentic political and organizational work that unites and sets in motion all factors helping to create good conditions for work and

a creative comradely atmosphere will remain a permanent and highly topical priority. In the public debate, too, we will move these issues into the foreground. [passage omitted]

The radical economic reform is being set in motion. This process bears the imprint of the internal contradictions of a transient, preparatory period. To be able to predict possible risks and to be able to actively resist them, it is necessary to shift weight to the support for all that is new and to render this support by all conceivable means—political, ideological, by organizational and economic measures, and, where this is unavoidable, even by administrative means. The decisive matter is the activity of the people, of labor collectives, under the CPCZ's guidance. The amendments to the Labor Code are an important integral part of this process.

In the next part of his speech, Mikulas Beno dealt with the implementation of socialist principles in remuneration. He said that the amendments provide for the consistent use of wages as an effective instrument of motivation for work, for the benefit of the general intensification of national economic development. [passage omitted]

It is correct and natural that labor laws also must enforce principles arising from the Letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on Deepening the Effectiveness of the Struggle Against Violations of the Principles of Socialist Ethics and Discipline and from the corresponding resolution of the CSSR Government. The situation in this field is not satisfactory.

The conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress with regard to care for the working people and the reinforcement of their political and social guarantees must also be codified in provisions of the labor law. The new quality of these guarantees must rest on a firm foundation, especially on social planning. [passage omitted] The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government have assessed the amendments to the Labor Code, including some changes improving the social standing of the working people, from the viewpoint of the social policy of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

We assume and expect that the debate will be taken as a form of direct democratic participation by the working people in the legislative process. Its point of gravity will lie in trade union organizations and in the labor collectives of cooperative organizations. This respects the role of trade unions and the cooperative unions in the process of deepening socialist democracy and it also complies with the demand for the organization of a public debate that was voiced at the 11th All-Trade Union Congress. [passage omitted]

We also expect the public debate to serve as an occasion to mobilize the working people for the fulfillment of the tasks of the economic plan at individual workplaces, in accordance with the requirements of restructuring as stressed by the Seventh Session of the CPCZ Central Committee. To speed up the pace toward restructuring and to start with oneself—this is the comprehensive programmatic principle and the motive force of our faster progress, Mikulas Beno said in conclusion. [passage omitted]

Vladimir Marik, CSSR deputy minister of labor and social affairs, familiarized the participants in the consultative meeting with the specific proposals contained in the amendment. These include, inter alia, the provision that the wages of employees, aside from their dependence on the amount, quality, and social importance of work, also depend on the overall results of the labor collective and the organization. The cancellation of the contract of employment with lazybones and mediocre workers will be facilitated for management. In accordance with the directives for restructuring, a uniform 2-month period of notice is being proposed. The modalities required to perform a job on the side are being made more flexible.

The balance between rights and duties is also reflected in the fact that the Labor Code will contribute to reinforcing the guarantees of the working people under the labor law—to their protection against work accidents, occupational diseases, and other risks stemming from the labor process. An important measure being proposed to secure the necessary prerequisites for ensuring the conditions for company catering and for rest is the extension of the paid break for lunch and rest from 15 to 30 minutes, which will be included in the working hours. Provided that the economic conditions are established, the decision will be made toward the end of the 5-year plan to grant an extra week of vacations to working mothers looking after three children or more. [passage omitted]

Roundtable Discussion on Environment Held

AU171159 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Mar 88 p 6

[Jindra Cekalova report: "Roundtable Discussion Arranged by RUDE PRAVO and TRYBUNA LUDU; Ecology Knows No Borders"]

[Excerpts] We have already told our readers about the roundtable discussion arranged by RUDE PRAVO and TRYBUNA LUDU in Prague; it dealt with environmental issues and was moderated by Jaroslav Kojzar, deputy chief editor of RUDE PRAVO. The participants in the discussion were Bogdan Mikolajczyk and Tomasz Mieczik, TRYBUNA LUDU editors; Professor Andrzej Szujecki from the Agricultural Academy in Warsaw; and Jacek Wlodyga, director of the environmental protection section in Jelenia Gora. The other participants were Engineer Jaroslav Stoklasa, candidate of sciences; Engineer Bedrich Binek, candidate of sciences on the staff of the Institute of Regional Biology attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (CSAV); Vojen Lozek, doctor of natural sciences and doctor of sciences on the

staff of the CSAV's Institute of Geology and Geotechnics; Jiri Kriz, doctor of natural sciences and candidate of sciences, chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Czech Union of Nature Protectors (CSOP); and Professor Zdenek Veselovsky, doctor of sciences and director of the Prague Zoo. The discussion was continued in the Prague center of the State Monument Conservation and Nature Protection organization, where the participants were joined by Engineer Ivan Batka, director of the center; Vaclav Ziegler, doctor of natural sciences and candidate of sciences, head of the center's nature protection section; and Engineer Jiri Zajic, candidate of sciences and leading secretary of the CSOP Central Committee. RUDE PRAVO editors Pavol Minarik (RUDE PRAVO reporter in the Polish People's Republic), Zdenek Vavra, and Miroslav Vltavsky also took part in the discussion.

Kojzar: The subject of our discussion is most topical; it is also very broad, and many aspects of it are sensitive. Some years ago in our country we thought that one should not publish all the data on the environmental situation. One of the reasons given was that at that time we had not yet conducted a proper scientific study of many problems, and had only basic data on others. The publication of certain data, it was said, would lead to adverse reactions among our citizens, and so forth.

Luckily, such approaches are already a thing of the past. Today our public is provided with truthful and increasingly broad information about the true environmental situation--even if the facts are definitely not always pleasant. Nevertheless, we believe that even this kind of information must be published, and that all those who impair our living environments (and particularly air and water purity) must be consistently criticized. [passage omitted]

Vavra: Recently one could note in RUDE PRAVO several instances of the Czechoslovak citizens' growing and spontaneous interest in these matters. It is also gratifying that they react not only to the environmental problems in their immediate vicinity, but are not indifferent to the situation in other areas, even in places far from where they live. [passage omitted]

Kriz: Czechoslovak-Polish cooperation in ecological education is developing according to CEMA Program No 1, called Socioeconomic, Organizational-Legal, and Pedagogical Aspects of Living Environments. The program is coordinated by the Warsaw Institute of Environmental Protection; and Czechoslovakia is mainly responsible for training experts at university-level schools. In November 1987 CEMA experts discussed in Krakow (inter alia) yet another plan for cooperating in ecological education. The results achieved in joint research should be implemented in practice as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Binek: To provide data on the environmental situation is a great task, both in individual states and internationally. Organizations charged in our country with ascertaining the environmental situation belong to different ministerial sectors, each of which is naturally striving to come out with the best, the most optimistic values. As an organization not belonging to any ministerial sector, the CSAV often comes into conflict with the appropriate ministerial organizations. The situation in other European states is similar. That is why this weighty problem was included on the agenda of the Ost-West [German term used] conference (held in Budapest last autumn). There the participants agreed that one should unify the methods of acquiring the necessary data in individual states as much as possible—for the time being at least in Europe; and individual delegates submitted proposals on reforming data-gathering in their countries. I believe that this is one of the basic problems in acquiring an overall view of the ecological situation in individual states for the purposes of comparison. [passage omitted]

Wlodyga: Since the various industrial interests are very strong, the pressure they exerted makes it most difficult to convince society that ecological losses are often higher than the profit yielded by industry. I would like to say that we place our trust in the communications media to efficiently help us to overcome such approaches. Society accepts all, even negative, environmental data most positively, because it is generally known that the environmental situation is not exactly good. [passage omitted]

Stoklasa: We must also realize how basically the society has changed during the last 30 years. [passage omitted] Compared with the preceding congress, the 17th CPCZ Congress decided to more than double the amount set aside for investment in environmental improvement projects (Kcs17.5 billion). However, it is becoming obvious that we are not comprehensively prepared for this situation; we have no blueprints or construction facilities and the realization of ecological projects is lagging. We must realize that banknotes will purify neither water nor air. I think that in the present situation the living environment becomes a priority, even if we have to limit unnecessary consumption (or, rather, waste). Currently we are primarily concerned with the quality of our basic needs—and quality is connected with the restructuring of the economy, which should consume less energy and raw-materials and produce less waste. [passage omitted]

Binek: It has been said repeatedly that ecology knows no borders. However, since state borders do exist, the views on the origins and extent of air or water pollution in the neighboring (but also more distant) states sometimes differ.

Kojzar: We discussed this more than 3 years ago at the European conference on living environments in Munich. There we stressed that surely we cannot continue reproaching each other about who is sending more emissions to whom. We cited certain data about the

CSSR and our forests (roughly 24 percent of which were in a critical state; today it is even worse). The important thing is to reach a realistic solution, and jointly tackle the problem of air purity. Here, too, we need better mutual information and a more consistent mutual assistance.

Vltavsky: According to the CSSR's international commitment, by 1993 we will reduce sulphur oxide emissions from our sources into the air by about 1.7 million tonnes—this is 30 percent less than in 1980. We will continue reducing them at this rate up to the year 2000. Within the,framework of this program, we should build facilities for desulphurizing six thermal power stations—in Tusimice, Pocerady, Novaky, Prunerov, Tisova, and Melnik; we will do so with the aid of various technologies. We have started building a specific project in Tusimice, making use of Soviet documentation and technology. In 'Pocerady and Novaky we are drawing on the West European knowledge. We want not only to improve the air, but also to introduce (as far as possible) waste-less technologies. In Tusimice the desulphurizing equipment should produce either sulphur or sulphuric acid; other plants should produce power plaster [energosadra], to be used as raw material for the building industry. The changes in these six power plants, together with the gradual cutting down of operations in older facilities and a simultaneous increase of the amount of production in nuclear power plants (which should amount to 50 percent of all produced energy by 2000), should substantially contribute toward reducing the amounts of pollutants in higher air strata.

Szujecki: The agreement on air protection between our governments is several years old; groups of government representatives have not been inactive. Deplorably, all these years we have been merely informing each other that the situation had improved or grown worse, incapable of coming to an agreement on unifying the measuring apparatuses so that (to use a simile) we could use the same yardstick. [passage omitted]

Wlodyga: We spoke here of your Tusimice power plant. In this context I want to tell you that our thermal power plant in Turoszow has worked out a specific program for reducing the sulphur dioxide emissions 30 percent. The first effects should become apparent in 1993.

Nature protection does not like diplomacy, and in this connection we should tell each other certain truths face to face. Our region would be very glad to establish direct cooperation with individual regions or districts on the Czechoslovak side.

Szujecki: The protection of mountain forests against air pollutants is one of our most important tasks. Neither Czechoslovakia, nor Poland have precise data on the real situation. I believe that the reduction of overall timber increment should be tackled first. It is also necessary to discuss the problem of environmental acidity, together with measures against the worsening situation in this respect. And, third, one should discuss the possibilities for joint research, and measures for making up for the damaged forest growth. Another issue is that of prducing measuring instruments in large series. None of the CEMA countries is producing sensitive enough equipment. [passage omitted]

Mikolajczyk: The League for Nature Protection enjoys great authority in Poland. [passage omitted] It has greatly contributed to the construction of 60 purification stations on our coasts.

Currently Poland is releasing more than 9 percent of the total investment costs for economy development, to be used for investment projects connected with the preservation of natural environments. In other words, practically every 10th Zloty from the investment cashbox is spent on ecology problems.

We are spending about Z80 billion annually on environment projects; but the damages caused during the same period amount to Z1 million.

During the present 5-year plan we should build (inter alia) 1,000 new sewage disposal plants, and set up 20 desulphurizing facilities for smoke gas.

Ziegler: The situation in our country is similar. The costs needed for rectifying the damages are higher than our investments in preventive measures. From this viewpoint, it was a most positive contribution to increase the means for specific air and water purification projects by Kcs17.5 billion (that is almost 2 percent of all investments). We envisage further increases in the Ninth and Tenth 5-Year Plans.

Kojzar: During our talk we have openly discussed certain weighty topical matters concerning the current state of living environments and the possibilities of improving them. We have discussed, both generally and specifically, the situation in our two countries and, naturally, also the need to cooperate. True, there was no time to discuss all the problems. The problems of living environments are far too complicated and extensive for us to "solve" them in a single talk.

However, it was obvious that both Poland and our own country are not only seriously thinking about these problems, but also developing specific activities in this respect. [passage omitted]

Obzina Discusses Environmental Issues

AU311708 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Mar 88 p 4

[Interview with Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier, by "RUDE PRAVO": "Tripartite Agreement on the Drawing Board"; place and date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] A meeting of the deputy heads of government of the CSSR, the Polish People's Republic, and the GDR on the protection of the environment was held in Jelenia

Gora recently. Czechoslovakia was represented at the session, which was held on the initiative of the Polish Government, by Comrade Jaromir Obzina, deputy federal premier. We have asked him for answers to several questions on environmental protection and the aforesaid meeting.

[RUDE PRAVO] The meeting assessed conclusions from the latest research on the environment in the border areas, among them conclusions from the analysis of this year's snow in the Krusne Hory mountains. Has this research produced any new facts and, if so, were they expressed in the contents of the talks?

[Obzina] The immediate reason for this tripartite meeting was the very rapidly continuing damage to the sylvan vegetation by industrial emissions in the areas where the CSSR, the GDR, and the Polish People's Republic border each other. The scale and course of the damage to forests in the border mountains has made scientists formulate the hypothesis that the process taking place there differs from the past processes that damaged forests in the Krusne Hory Mountains. [passage omitted] The concentration of pollutants in the atmosphere is substantially below past levels, yet the scale and, in particular, the damage to forests in altitudes above 700 meters is much more rapid. Scientific research thus far has not provided a clear explanation of this phenomenon. [passage omitted] A number of experts endorse the opinion that this is a "new type of damage," caused not only by sulfur-dioxide emissions, but by the synergic influence of other pollutants. [passage omitted]

We met with our neighbors to seek joint solutions and to improve the existing situation, and not to stress the responsibility of others. The aim of the session was to agree on a common strategy to curb the primary cause—the emission of pollutants produced by burning processes. [passage omitted]

At our joint meeting we agreed that bilateral cooperation, which has a long tradition, produced certain results in the past in the water and forest economy, as well as in the cleanliness of the air. Nevertheless, it is becoming apparent that damage to the environment is so demanding a problem that these partial measures do not suffice to cope with it. That is why from the very beginning our delegation has been endorsing a comprehensive approach to the environmental problem, that is, an approach taking account of all four basic factors of the environment (water, soil, forest, and the atmosphere). At the same time we proposed that the problem of zero-waste technologies also be tackled, so that waste, particularly production waste, does not burden nature and the environment with harmful substances.

We are pleased that our talks have produced the decision to conclude a tripartite agreement on cooperation in the area of the environment, an agreement that would embrace all aspects of the issue. Groups of experts from all three countries involved have already started work on such an agreement. [passage omitted]

We agreed at the talks that so far we have achieved certain successes in setting right the negative impact of manufacturing and other activities on the environment, but that we have made little progress in eliminating the causes. This is to say that the causes of the deteriorating cleanliness of the environment must be sought in some former coerced or erroneous investment decisions on productions putting excessive strain on the biosphere and in the practice of agreeing to exemptions from set laws and the relevant norms. Sometimes there were compelling objective reasons to do so, but sometimes the endeavor to avail oneself of the greatest possible investment and production capacities at any price resulted in such an underestimation of care for the environment as we can no longer tolerate today. After all, the cost of eliminating the consequences of ecological damage and disasters exceeds the cost of preventive measures at least three times. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] Will the meeting in Poland be followed by similar multilateral meetings with Czechoslovakia's other neighbors? What specific measures is the CSSR working on?

[Obzina] Czechoslovakia maintains at present extensive and systematic contacts with all its neighbors in the sphere of environment and also shares in multilateral cooperation within the framework of CEMA, the United Nations Environment Program, and the Economic Commission for Europe. However, I do not believe that at this point other problems have been brought to such a head as to make a similar meeting with other partners necessary. [passage omitted]

Yet we are ready to conduct further talks. We not only have the diplomatic goodwill to reach agreement, but are ready to jointly seek effective practical solutions. This is borne out by the following facts:

1. In 1985 the CSSR Government adopted the "Principles of the State Concept of Creating and Protecting the Environment and of Making a Rational Use of Natural Resources in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, With an Outlook for the Period Through the Year 2000." It earmarked Kcs17.6 billion for ecological investments in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, that is, more than twice as much as in the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

2. The CSSR Government, as one of the first in Europe, stopped the construction of new coal-burning power stations in 1984. Specific measures are being taken to reduce the mining and burning of brown coal. [passage omitted] Electricity generated in nuclear power stations accounts at present for 26.5 percent of the overall power output in the CSSR. [passage omitted] The two nuclear power plants that are now under construction will

increase the output of power generated by nuclear power plants to 50 percent by the year 2000. This step alone will reduce sulfur dioxide emissions by about 350,000 to 400,000 tonnes annually.

3. A draft scheme for desulphurizing waste gases in large sources of air pollution is being prepared for submission to the CSSR Government. It involves 11 capital construction projects, 10 of which are located in the most endangered areas. The implementation of that scheme is designed to reduce pollution by sulfur dioxide by an additional 590,000 tonnes annually.

4. The CSSR Government and all economic agencies and national committees, along with National Front organizations, devote constant care to ecological issues in the drafting and implementation of their election programs. This concerns, in particular, the purity of water. The decisive sources of water pollution can thus be expected to be cut down by 48 percent by the year 2000, that is, by almost one-half.

5. The most complicated in the CSSR is the problem of damaged sylvan vegetation as its solution will require the longest time.

[RUDE PRAVO] Shall we be able to honor the well-known commitment to cut sulfur-dioxide emissions 30 percent?

[Obzina] Yes, the CSSR is able, on the whole, to honor its international obligation and reduce sulphur dioxide air pollution by 30 percent, compared with the year 1980. This entails an annual cut in sulfur dioxide emissions by more than 900,000 tonnes in the course of the Eighth and Ninth 5-Year Plans.

The CSSR Government will soon assess the State Concept of Creating and Protecting the Environment and of Making a Rational Use of Natural Resources Through the Year 2000, which will encompass the whole set of problems that are involved. The Governments of the Czech and Slovak SR have already assessed their respective concepts.

At the tripartite meeting of the CSSR, the GDR, and the Polish People's Republic, we submitted to our partners for discussion and elaboration proposals to comprehensively develop our cooperation. [passage omitted]

We recommended that, if our cooperation is to be truly effective, it is necessary to take up higher forms of cooperation. We are thinking, for example, of joint research and development, cooperation and specialization in manufacturing, the setting up of consortiums, the establishment of joint enterprises and the pooling of resources for the modernization of capacities, down to the joint purchase of licenses and technologies from the most advanced capitalist countries.

In conclusion, allow me to make one remark about foreign propaganda, which—whether it is formulated in a pseudo-scientific, in a journalistic, or in a political form—distorts the facts and conceals, at variance with the objective situation, the historical development. We cannot agree with opinions to the effect that the present state of the environment in our country, which we ourselves regard as serious and which we honestly strive to improve, is because of the deliberate neglect or disregard for environmental protection by our socialist society, by the responsible party and government agencies and the government itself. We see the situation in the historical perspective. We must, indeed, take into consideration that ever since the victory of the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia and what are now other socialist countries, we have been victim of embargo, political discrimination, and blackmail, from the Marshall Plan up to the present Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] measures. We bore witness to operations to disrupt our economy at a time when we were facing the strategic task of survival at any price. It was primarily these discriminatory measures, to put it mildly, that forced us to seek an enormous coal output, as well as steel production and a number of other steps for the sake of maintaining the independence of socialism in the CSSR and safeguarding our internationalist contribution to the development of socialism at large. We were appropriating funds mainly to defend the right of socialism to exist in our country, in the center of Europe! Were history to repeat itself, we would not opt for substantially different paths from those that we chose in the past. However, we would certainly approach the solution of tasks concerning the enhancement and protection of the environment with greater experiences and would not repeat much of what was caused by our own mistakes and lack of preparedness.

That is why it is not true that we are changing our policy with regard to ecological issues on the basis of criticism that can sometimes be heard from foreign capitalist countries. We have today quite different options than we had 20 or 30 years ago and this is another reason why we adopt different political decisions to protect the environment in our homeland and why, in accordance with our possibilities, we give priority to ecological interests.

Kubat on Questions on Electronics Industry

AU172014 [Editorial Report] Under the headline "On the Development of the Czechoslovak Electrotechnical Industry," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 March on page 3 both publish the 3,200-word first installment of answers by Milan Kubat, CSSR minister of the electrotechnical industry, to questions sent in by the readers of the Czechoslovak party press.

In his initial statement, Kubat cites some of the reasons for the delay of the Czechoslovak electronics industry behind the most advanced countries. He says that, roughly until the mid-sixties, Czechoslovak electronics

kept abreast of developments in the world. But it was at that time, he says, that "a gross underestimation of the importance of the up-and-coming computerization and information technology occurred in Czechoslovakia." As a result, only very small funds, averaging between 1 and 1.3 percent of all national economic investments, were invested in the electronics industry in the years of the fifth and sixth 5-year plans. Although this proportion increased to 1.6 percent in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, this was still far below the 4 percent invested by the GDR, for example.

Kubat says that Czechoslovakia cannot be expected to rapidly reduce this delay in all branches of the electrotechnical industry at once. It should mainly strive, he says, to increase the proportion of electronics in its engineering production (where it accounts for 18 percent, compared with 35 percent in the GDR) and seek greater international cooperation with enterprises from socialist countries as well as nonsocialist firms.

The next question inquires about the "expediency and economic benefits" of having 80 different types of computers and control systems produced in Czechoslovakia, in organizations that are run by different ministries.

Kubat says that, if technological and other control systems are discounted, only 25 different types of computers are being produced in Czechoslovakia, but he concedes that "this is in no case an expedient or planned division of labor." He goes on to say that this range will be reduced to seven types of computers, belonging to three different mutually compatible lines, by the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. According to Kubat, this standardization has been greatly assisted by the "Program of Personal Computers for the National Economy Through the Year 1990," which was proclaimed in November 1987. Under this program, organizations of the electrotechnical industry will reportedly focus on the production of "two types of 16-bit personal computers, the PP 06 and the SAPI 86, which conform with the world standard that has asserted itself in this category."

Asked about the reasons for the failure of his ministry "to raise the quality of at least the most sought-after consumer electronics products to a level comparable with the world standard," Kubat then says: "Owing to various constraints, we are compelled time and again to secure the needs of the internal market mostly by domestic production. This is projected into manufacturing itself, which suffers from inefficient short production runs in virtually all types of products. Given the development of production for the needs of the domestic market alone, it is impossible to achieve the requisite effect. Production costs and labor productivity trail behind the average world standards and development capacities are scattered. In the economically advanced states of Europe, domestic production accounts for 25 to 30 percent of the market, with the rest made up of imports. Apart from this, the standard of consumer electronics in our country is also constrained by the available range of electronic parts and structural components, plastic materials, dies, and other chemical and metallurgical products."

Kubat sees a solution in the specialization of domestic manufacturers on a selected range of products that should also be exported and in the expansion of imports. He says that by the year 1990 imports should account for at least 50 percent of consumer electronics products on the domestic market. In 1988, for example, color television sets imported from socialist countries or produced in cooperation with socialist countries should reach a market share of more than 32 percent.

The next questioner inquires whether Czechoslovakia intends to go over to the so-called "Super VHS" system for video recorders, which was launched by the Japanese JVC company in 1987. Kubat replies that all innovations of Czechoslovak video recorders are tied to cooperation between the Tesla-Avex enterprise and the Philips company and that, consequently, the production of video recorders of the "Super VHS" system, the patent for which is protected, is not planned.

In his next answer, Kubat discusses the prospects of the production of color television sets in Czechoslovakia. He says that demand for color television sets is growing much faster than market researchers predicted and that "all measures" are being taken to satisfy this "extraordinary demand" by the end of the current 5-year plan. He notes that the number of television sets available on the Czechoslovak market (including domestic production, imports, and sets assembled in cooperation with foreign partners) increased from 290,000 in 1986 to 403,000 in 1987 and 488,000 this year, and that this trend will continue in 1989 and 1990. Referring to the quality of CSSR-made television sets, Kubat says that it is "very good in a number of specifications," although "we still trail behind in some technical parameters, such as reliability expressed as the average time between two breakdowns and the scale of integration." However, the very fact that CSSR consumers prefer domestic to imported products confirms, according to Kubat, that "the technical standard is not bad."

Kubat also says that a "new generation" of microprocessor-controlled color television sets is being prepared for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. These sets will reportedly have a built-in decoder for the Television Information Service (TIS), the Czechoslovak teletext service that will be test-launched later this year, stereo sound, and "enhanced operational reliability." Another new service for television viewers will be the reception of the television signal from satellite, Kubat continues, which is part of the CEMA countries' "comprehensive program" through the year 2000. Kubat says that the launch of the Soviet satellite is planned for 1991, which is also when the trial operation of satellite television in Czechoslovakia should start.

Asked about the high prices of color television sets, Kubat points out that the price does not depend on the manufacturer alone, but that "a number of factors is considered in fixing the price, among them the level of consumer demand."

The next question, by a designer from Kosice, queries the soundness of the decision to purchase of a license for color television tubes and suggests that it would have been better to give preference to the "accelerated development of the component base, especially microelectronic elements of higher integration." "Now we have the tubes," the designer points out, "but we are palpably short of modern components, without which our electronics will hardly make any progress."

Kubat replies that the decision to purchase the license and build a factory for color television tubes was made before 1980 when his ministry was set up, but he admits that this investment limited the possibilities to develop microelectronics. However, according to the minister, this situation should change in the current 5-year plan when the sector avails itself of twice as many investment funds as in the 1981-85 period and when a full one-third of these funds will go into the development of the component base.

In his remaining statements in the first installment of his answers, Minister Kubat discusses the development of electronic components for the new Skoda car, efforts to improve the quality of electronic products, and problems caused by disruptions in supplier-user relations within his sector.

Kubat's replies to further questions of RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA readers are to be included in "one of the next issues."

Commentary on Foreign Ministers' Conferenc

Pact Appeal to NATO Viewed

LD010910 Prague CTK in English
0651 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 1 (CTK)—"The chance offering itself to Europe is a historic one. It is necessary to use the present improving atmosphere between states with different social systems for restoring and building confidence, understanding, and for cooperation", RUDE PRAVO said in its editorial today.

Referring to a recent appeal by the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers, addressed to the NATO member states and all Helsinki Final Act signatories, for taking joint steps to reduce military confrontation on the territory from the Atlantic to the Urals, the Czechoslovak Communist Party paper pointed out that after years of growing confrontation a real possibility has emerged of excluding violence from international relations and asserting negotiations as a permanent method of solving problems. The international situation is characterized by dynamic relations and creative search, there exists no problem that could not be discussed, the paper said.

Pointing out the growing conviction all over the world that a nuclear war must never break out, RUDE PRAVO stressed "It is therefore necessary to substantially cut weapons and reject the threat or use of force in relations between states, to use the chance that offers itself and sit down at the negotiating tables, to clear Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. This is what no one else can do for Europe. The Warsaw Treaty states are aware of this co-responsibility and are prepared to contribute their share in this respect".

Results of Conference Examined

LD312305 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Commentary on the results of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Meeting in Sofia by Jiri Cebrovsky]

[Text] Two documents were issued from the Sofia session. The first, the communique, sets out the Warsaw Pact view on all current world problems, from nuclear disarmament to regional wars. The second is the appeal to NATO states and all CSCE countries, and this in itself tends to suggest that not only does it contain our countries' analyses of the most important issues of war and peace, but also that the appeal can be seen as a particular kind of message setting out proposals for tackling the complex issues of nuclear and conventional disarmament on the European and world scale. Furthermore it does not omit anything that is vitally important and topical, nor does it contain any directives or doctrines that the given spectrum of issues and problems would wish to avoid, nor any intentions of our own that we would wish to impose on the other side. The proposals and recommendations presented by the Warsaw Pact countries in the Sofia appeal are clearly formulated. They contain many new suggestions and ideas, and consequently the judgment can be made that they will not only interest the European and world public, but also will be carefully studied and evaluated by politicians, statesmen, diplomats, and the military. The topicality and novelty of the formulation of the appeal can be seen by the example of Czechoslovakia's comprehensive initiative for setting up a zone of confidence, cooperation, and goodneighborly relations on the line dividing both military-political alliances. The Sofia appeal speaks of providing greater information and predictability in the military sphere, of the need to exchange information requirements on setting up a rigorous and effective system of monitoring and checking the undertakings. This proposal has given our initiative new dimensions, and it can be said that it has become an example whose ideas should be applied in other parts of Europe too.

To preserve and make use of everything positive that promotes further progress, to consistently raise the efforts of each and every state to make the disarmament

process a continuous one and to conclude new agreements aimed at ridding the European Continent and the whole world of the danger of war—That is the main and fundamental idea the meeting of Warsaw Pact foreign ministers addressed to the public. It is their expressed conviction that nuclear and conventional conflict can be averted. No nuclear deterrence, no matter how many epithets it has, no substitution of certain weapons by the other side, no modernization, no compensation—instead, a consistent and persistent struggle to eliminate the weapons of death, to rid the European continent as well as the other continents of these weapons; the historic chance must not be wasted—this was the message the world heard from Sofia, and it heard it from the representatives of countries that unequivicoally stated this in the Bulgarian capital: We will do everything for disarmament, to strengthen security, and for cooperation in all spheres.

Joint Maneuvers With Soviet Army Come to End

AU011200 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Mar 88 p 5

[CTK report: "Culmination of a Joint Military Exercise"]

[Text] Most—The joint exercise of the troops of the Czechoslovak People's Army and the Soviet Army, which has been under way in northwest Bohemia since 22 March, culminated on Sunday [27 March] with a simulated counterattack by a tank regiment of the second-wave division of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR.

During the individual stages of the exercise, which is being held under exceptionally demanding terrain and weather conditions, Czechoslovak and Soviet troops displayed great moral firmness and personal courage, great skill, skill in driving combat vehicles and handling weapons and military technology, as well as physical fitness. The commanders of the Czechoslovak and Soviet units, too, mastered their tasks responsibly and demonstrated the ever increasing combat readiness of the armies.

The combat operation both Saturday and Sunday was watched by foreign observers from 22 CSCE participant countries. After the conclusion, they were driven to Podborany railroad station, where they witnessed the loading of combat vehicles of a Soviet Army tank battalion on railroad cars. The first military transport departed shortly after 1300 hours. Other units, too, began getting ready to return to their garrisons in the afternoon. The military observers ended their activity at the same time.

CTK and Czechoslovak Radio correspondents asked several of them for a brief assessment.

Colonel M. J. H. Bevers of the Netherlands said: "We were received with great hospitality. As regards conditions for observation, we received all the necessary materials and were getting detailed information from field commanders every day. It was a very open exercise as far as we are concerned."

"We knew exactly what part of the exercise we were watching," Lieutenant Colonel Klaus Arnhold from the FRG said in an interview. "In an area of the announced territory we observed the activity of units in defense, attack, counterattack, and during redeployment. However, we will draw our final conclusions only after we have thoroughly studied our information at home."

Asked what report he will submit to the government and the Army Command, Lieutenant Colonel Heikki Hietanen from Finland replied: "I will tell them that we should take further steps to develop the Stockholm commitments. For example, that we, the observers, should be able to select the part of exercise that we want to watch. Even though this still is a question for the future, I think that it would be a certain progress."

Major General Frederic Franks from the United States told CTK that he was pleasantly surprised by the conditions provided for his work by both the Czechoslovak and the Soviet side. "I had heard from my colleagues, American Generals Schwarz and Freeman, who were here last year, that the conditions provided for the observers' work was very good. They were right, I have seen it with my own eyes."

Comparing conditions for observing exercises of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, Colonel Milos Cech, member of the Czechoslovak detail accompanying foreign observers, who attended the Goldener Loewe maneuvers in the FRG last fall, said: "The conditions are similar, the conditions for our work is approximately of the same standard as here, in the CSSR." Whereas during this exercise foreign observers see dynamic military operations, deployment of units into the battle order, Colonel Cech noted, we watched rather static situations in the FRG. This is the result of large-scale military exercises in the FRG being held, as a rule, in a civilian area.

Jakes To Pay Official Visit to Hungary

LD301548 Prague CTK in English 1446 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Prague March 30 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes will pay a friendly working visit to Hungary in the coming days.

He has been invited by Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party General Secretary Janos Kadar.

Marshal Kulikov Awards Vaclavik Order of Lenin

LD311652 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Marshal Viktor Kulikov, first deputy minister of defense of the Soviet Union and commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, presented Army General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense, with the order of Lenin today in Prague on the authority of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

This high Soviet distinction has been awarded to him on his 60th birthday for his great merit in strengthening the comradeship-in-arms between the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak People's Army.

On behalf of Soviet Minister of Defense Army General Dmitriy Yazov, the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries, Viktor Kulikov offered Milan Vaclavik cordial congratulations on this important anniversary in his life and on being awarded the high distinction.

Tatra Members Talk of Detention in Guatemala

LD312250 Prague CTK in English 1927 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Mexico March 31 (CTK correspondent)—Members of the Czechoslovak Tatra Around the World expedition, who came to Mexico yesterday, gave detailed information about their detention in Guatemala at the Czechoslovak Embassy here today.

The group crossed the borders between Belize and Guatemala at the Melchor de Mencos border crossing without any difficulties on March 10 in the afternoon. Their lorry was inspected by customs officials who issued relevant documents.

The following day, they went to the Pical National Park and its director allowed them two flights on a motor-powered glider over Mayan memorials. On their way to the Guatemalan capital, the expedition members passed three paramilitary road checkpoints in the next few days. Their passports, customs documents and lorry were inspected.

They were spending the night of March 17 at a place on Rio Dulce recommended at the last checkpoint when they were unexpectedly detained by some 20 armed members of the Guatemalan military intelligence and immediately escorted to the capital to the intelligence headquarters. The expedition members were separated from their vehicle which was inspected in their absence despite their protests.

The next day, all five members of the expedition were escorted, without any explanation provided, to the central barracks in the capital where they were jailed together and guarded by military police until March 25 when diplomatic negotiations ended successfully. They were released on March 25 and told to leave Guatemalan territory within eight hours.

When they crossed the border into Mexico, the expedition members checked the lorry and equipment and found that about one-third of their equipment had been lost.

500 Reported Arrested in Berlin Jan-Mar

LD011437 Hamburg DPA in German 1411 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Passau (DPA)—The number of GDR citizens arrested after the East Berlin protests is much higher than has been realized until now, according to a report in the PASSAUER NEUE PRESSE newspaper. The newspaper cites information from church sources, which say that from January until the middle of March more than 500 men and women were detained. The sources said that often an application to emigrate to the FRG was sufficient reason for detention, the newspaper goes on. The state security service proceeded quite ruthlessly in these matters.

At least 150 men and women had been sentenced to between 18 and 24 months of imprisonment in the wake of the outbreak of protests. More than 200 of those arrested were currently in prison awaiting trial. Others had been released only under very strict conditions such as daily reporting to the local police.

The article was supplied to DPA in advance.

More on GDR, West Berlin Territory Exchange

LD311451 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1223 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Berlin, 31 Mar (ADN)—As a result of the recent talks between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and the governing mayor of Berlin (West), Eberhard Diepgen, a further exchange of territory was agreed upon today between the GDR Government and the Senate of Berlin (West).

The agreement provides for enclaves of Berlin (West) still existing in the GDR, as well as a piece of territory bordering on the capital of Berlin in the region of Prenzlauer Berg amounting altogether to 87.3 hectares to be handed over to the GDR, while the GDR will hand over a number of pieces of territory in the area of the state frontier with Berlin (West), covering altogether 96.7 hectares. In view of the difference in value between the territories to be exchanged, the Senate is to pay the GDR Government compensation amounting to DM76 million.

The agreement was signed by the representative of the GDR Government, Dr. Walter Mueller, and the delegate of the Senate of Berlin (West), leading Senate official Gerhard Kunze.

At the signing of the agreement on the exchange of territory, Dr Walter Mueller stated that some enclaves still situated in the GDR together with a further piece of territory of Berlin (West), are thus passing into the hands of the GDR. In return, the GDR is handing over a comparable amount of territory situated on the state border with Berlin (West) that is not used by the GDR. The necessary practical measures, like marking out the new course of the border, will be carried out in the next few weeks.

The conclusion of the agreement is the result of negotiations that have been carried out on the basis of discussions between Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Eberhard Diepgen governing mayor of Berlin (West), said Dr Mueller.

The agreement confirms that, given good will and due consideration of mutual interests, it is possible to solve outstanding issues on the basis of strict adherence to and full application of the four-power agreement and on the basis of existing realities to the advantage of both sides and to further develop and deepen cooperation between the GDR and Berlin (West) in the interests of good-neighborly relations. This serves both to improve the general situation as well as being useful to the well-being of the people. Questions of status were not affected by it.

Gerhard Kunze expressed the satisfaction of the Senate of Berlin (West) that the negotiations that started in 1983 could now be successfully concluded. They were not always easy as contradictory interests in the way of balanced compromises had to be overcome. Within the framework of talks between Governing Mayor Eberhard Diepgen and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, however, it has been possible to achieve a settlement that is acceptable to both sides.

The conclusion of the agreement has again endorsed the four-power agreement as a document of balance between opposing standpoints and views between East and West, said the delegate of the Berlin (West) Senate.

Further on Sindermann's Visit to India

Meets With CP Official

LD311826 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0929 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Delhi 31 Mar (ADN)—GDR People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann continued his official visit to India on Thursday. At the start of the 3rd day of his visit, the Politburo member of the SED Central Committee had a discussion in Delhi with Indradeep Sinha, member of the Central Executive Committee and secretary of the National Council of the Indian Communist Party. The two politicians briefed each other on their parties' work to secure peace and in the field of domestic policy.

In the afternoon, Horst Sindermann will meet representatives of the Indian Communist Party (Marxist).

Pays Visit to Bombay

LD011331 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1147 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Text] Bombay, 1 Apr (ADN)—A delegation from the GDR's People's Chamber led by its President Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, arrived in Bombay today. The delegation was warmly welcomed at the Indian city's airport by the speaker of the state assembly of the Union state of Maharashtra, S.C. Jagtap. In the course of the day, the delegation will also meet the governor of Maharashtra, B.K. Reddy, for talks.

Leaders' Public Appearances 17-23 Mar

AU261709 [Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 18 to 24 March reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

Werner Felfe, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended an agricultural seminar of the SED Central Committee and of the GDR Council of Ministers in Markleeberg on 23 March. (24 March, p 1)

GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer received Yi Ingchu, DPRK vice minister of foreign affairs [title as recieved], in Berlin on 18 March. (19-29 March, p 2)

Oskar Fischer received AAPSO President Mourad Ghaleb in Berlin on 23 March. (24 March p 2)

Kurt Hager, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, was received by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the People's Republic of Mongolia, in Ulaanbaatar on 17 March. (18 March, p 1)

Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, attended a reception of Tunisian Ambassador Mohamed Taoufik Largui in Berlin on 21 March. (22 March, p 2)

Egon Krenz, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received outgoing Zambian Ambassador Fine Mushaukwa Liboma in Berlin on 17 March. (18 March, p 2)

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society, held a speech at the Sternberg Kreis Delegates Conference on 19 March. (21 March, p 2)

Alfred Neumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, attended a reception of Pakistani Ambassador Izharul Anwar Chaudhry in Berlin on 23 March. (24 March, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended the events of the "Day of Arts" in Berlin on 19 March. (21 March, p 1)

Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB Federal Executive Council and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended a meeting of the Secretariats of the FDGB and the All-Union Council of Soviet Trade Unions in Moscow on 18 March. (19-20 March, p 1)

Werner Walde, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, visited the Luebbenau power plant on 18 March. (19-20 March, p 3)

Grosz Toast for Willi Stoph at Dinner

AU311406 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Mar 88 p 3

[Toast by Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at a festive dinner in honor of visiting GDR Premier Willi Stoph held in the National Assembly on 29 March, under the headline: "Toast by Karoly Grosz"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Stoph!

Dear comrades and friends!

I respectfully welcome you, the premier of the friendly GDR, your esteemed wife, and the members of your entourage. It is a great pleasure for me that you have accepted our invitation and that we have the opportunity to inform each other about the tasks ahead of us. We can discuss cooperation between our countries and the possibilities of further developing this cooperation.

The GDR is our close ally and reliable partner. Our relations are multifaceted and developing, they cover all the major areas of life, usefully serve the activity of socialist construction in our countries, and strengthen our peoples' friendship. Our principles and major goals, as well as our fundamental interests are the basis of our cooperation, provide renewed content to our relations, and encourage us to foster and deepen these relations. Our party and government have always given great attention to our relations with the socialist German state, and they continue to do so today.

The Hungarian public is following with great interest the political and social events in the GDR, its economic and social policy efforts, and its results achieved in the implementation of these goals. The Hungarian public is aware of and supports the active foreign policy of the GDR that serves the cause of detente, peace, and cooperation, including the important foreign policy initiatives. The responsible dialogue between the two German states, the initiative shown in participating in the elaboration of proposals concerning the establishment of a nuclear and chemical weapons-free zone in Europe, and other measures well illustrate the constructive role played by the GDR on our continent.

It is our conviction that all these contribute to the development of your country and to the increase in your country's international prestige.

The efforts and endeavors aimed at improving our economic situation and creating the conditions for development are playing a decisive role today in the life of our country. Our actions are determined by the MSZMP Position of July 1987, the government work program, and the preparations for the upcoming national party conference. We had been unable to adjust properly to the rapid worldwide economic changes of previous years. Our development came to a sudden halt and, as a result, tensions appeared in society. At the party conference, we must analyze the experiences of the work carried out since the last congress in order to adjust our goals to the altered possibilities, consolidate the party's intellectual and action unity, and to mobilize the party members for eliminating the tensions that appear in society and for renewing the close cooperation between the party and the people. It is an indispensable task to review and modernize the activity of our political institutions. As we see it, and our previous experience confirms it, it is impossible to consistently implement the economic reform without developing a system of political guidance, and, subsequently, consolidating the socialist social order.

In order to implement the tasks stipulated by the party position and the government work program, we need to develop socialist democracy and to preserve the lasting values of socialist national unity, and fully adjust them to the changing requirements. We strive for cooperation with all the forces that are willing to work for our homeland and our people, including those who have different ideas concerning certain issues of socialist construction.

Our tasks are not easy to fulfill. Halting the deterioration of our economic situation requires unpopular measures which challenge the people's readiness for sacrifice and the efficiency of the leadership. In spite of this, we cannot allow intentions that hinder the economic and political reform measures to gain ground because we know that our socialist efforts serve our national interests. However, we categorically reject any abuse of the increasing openness of our public life and manifestations that exaggerate our difficulties and incite unrest.

Our problems cannot obscure the economic and social achievements of more than 4 decades of struggle. We are convinced that our goals are correct and that, by developing our people's creative forces, we will be able to consolidate our achievements, make our social and economic development more dynamic, and lay the foundations for our further development. It gives us confidence that our friends are also working on the implementation of similar goals and searching for the best solutions and the ones most suitable to their national particularities and traditions for the challenges of our age. All the experiences provided by the restructuring policy in the Soviet Union and similar efforts under way in other socialist countries give us support in our endeavors.

Dear friends!

In the implementation of our tasks, we rely on the fruitful cooperation developed with friendly countries, including the GDR. It is our mutual interest to preserve and further develop our high-level relations.

In the economic sphere, we consider it an important task to implement the program of economic and scientific-technical cooperation up to the year 2000 and to implement, in accordance with the requirements, the stipulations concerning the exchange of goods. We must find

the possibilities for expanding and deepening specialization and cooperation as well as other modern forms of production cooperation between Hungarian and GDR enterprises, and the direct relations between the scientific institutions of the two countries. In our view, at the current level of our economic cooperation, these possibilities can lead to a further dynamic increase in the turnover of goods.

We regard our cultural, scientific, public organs, and tourist relations as useful and successful, and we try to promote their further development.

We are looking forward to the events of the Hungarian cultural, economic, and technical days to be organized in Berlin next week, an event that represents an important phase in our cooperation.

Dear comrades!

We conclude with satisfaction that our parties and government share identical views concerning major international issues. In the framework of the Warsaw Pact, our two countries work together to create a comprehensive system of international peace and security, and we support the important peace initiatives of the Soviet Union. By conducting an active foreign policy, maintaining dialogue, and by making initiatives in accordance with our possibilities, we strive to contribute to international detente and to creating an atmosphere of confidence and cooperation.

Progress in the cause of disarmament is the fundamental condition for creating peace and international security. We welcome the historical Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range Nuclear Missiles signed in December 1987, and we consider it important for the negotiations on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons to be successful.

Further efforts are needed to reduce confrontation in Europe. In harmony with the Budapest appeal of the Warsaw Pact countries, we must strive to radically reduce the armed forces and the conventional arms and to further develop the Stockholm agreement. We must do our utmost to deepen the Helsinki process and to successfully conclude the Vienna follow-up conference.

Dear Comrade Stoph!

Thank you again for your visit. I am convinced that our talks will contribute to the cooperation between our countries and to the deepening of our peoples' friendship.

In the spirit of these thoughts, I raise a toast to:

—successes for the friendly GDR,

—the fruitful cooperation and development of our countries and parties,

—friendship between our peoples,

—the health of Comrade Stoph, his esteemed wife, and of all the comrades present here!

Official Outlines Change in Price Policy

LD312046 Budapest MTI in English
1513 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest, March 31 (MTI)—On April 1 the price rise report obligation will be lifted for a large group of products. Under-Secretary of State Bela Szikszay, president of the National Price Office, gave an interview to MTI on the expected effects of the measure and the price changes since the beginning of the year.

"The all-out official obligation to announce price changes have been in effect from August 15 last year up to the present day. This by no means meant a price freeze, but it considerably restricted the price rise ambitions of producers. The price authority licensed price rises with certain products because of the substantial rise of base material costs. On the other hand, numerous, probably justified price increases have been postponed by the companies. This way the public worry that a price hike will begin after the April 1 lifting is more or less justified.

"April 1, however, cannot mark a turning point, as the official report obligation will remain for about 27 per cent of the most important consumer goods which form the most sensitive sphere of price rises. In recent weeks the price office have agreed with 50 companies to carry out even the justified price rises at several stages. Accordingly, no sizeable price rise is expected to affect more than 50 per cent of products, or at least the price level will not increase simultaneously."

Bela Szikszay said the price rise will certainly be tangible in spheres where it has so far been forcefully restricted. However, experience does not show an excessive price raising intention which would threaten to surpass the 15 per cent price level increase planned for this year. The recently published guidelines of the government call on the companies for self-restraint in price rise decisions. They seem to take the warning into consideration, and many decided not to effect the planned price rise. The majority will only carry out unavoidable increases because of higher base material costs. The price bargain spirit of companies has also strengthened.

Bela Szikszay pointed out that in the first quarter of the year prices rose by 18 per cent more than the corresponding period of 1987. The present price index also incorporates the effects of the considerable rises of last April and June. He referred to the major base material price rises apparent on the international market for months, which should also be taken into account to preserve the competitiveness of domestic producers. At the same time, it is important that the world market price drop should be felt in Hungary as well. For example, last

year's rise in copper price was soon reflected on the domestic market, and now the reverse tendency will also be followed. This is the way to pursue a two-way price policy, the president of the National Price Office said to MTI.

Basis of New Socialist Model Sought

WA011551 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 12 Mar 88 p 3

(MTI)—An international scientific conference with the title "Socialist Economic Reform Alternatives" was held in Gyoer between 18-21 March. Kalman Pecsi, deputy director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' International Economic Research Institute informed representatives of the press on Friday about the theme of the conference and the goals of the discussions. The goal of the conference is to help the MSZMP with scientific tools to establish the strategic goals of the resurgence program.

This is the first time in a socialist country that researchers are summarizing so extensively the economic reform attempts of socialist societies and the experiences of the models so far. They will try to scientifically present 8 to 10 alternatives for economic renewal. Well-known Western specialists will also participate in the conference.

Three themes will form the basis of the discussion. Besides the experiences of the Hungarian economic reform model, the specialists will examine the economic attempts of the Polish, Yugoslav, Soviet, and Chinese models, as well as those of other socialist countries. In addition to specific characteristics, the specialists will concentrate on general and mutual problems. The third topical area will deal with alternatives to socialist economic reform. The participants want to delineate the basis of a new model including the clarification of some basic economic concepts. They will review the problematics of planning and the market, examine the political aspects of a possible model or models, and the dialectics of power and the economy.

BRIEFS

Gypsy Education Institute

A people's academy for gypsies opened in Edeleny in Borsod County on 18 March. The proportion of the gypsy population in this county exceeds 10 percent. There are 75 students studying in the academy. [Text] [*AU251253 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Mar 88 p 21*]

Consular Agreement With Syria

The ratification documents of the consular agreement signed in Damascus on September 17, 1986 between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Syrian Arab Republic were exchanged by Peter Kovari, Hungarian deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Muhammad Saleh, charge d'affaires ad interim at the Hungarian Embassy of the Syrian Arab Republic, at the Budapest Foreign Ministry on March 31. [Text] [*LD010257 Budapest MTI in English 1521 GMT 31 Mar 88 LD*]

Agricultural Cooperation With SFRY

Cooperation in production has gained importance in the Hungarian-Yugoslav border area. The first agreement on sugar-beet processing was signed 5 years ago. In the last decade, the SFRY has built several modern sugar processing plants near the border, but these factories have worked with reduced capacity as a result of a drop in the production of sugar beet. The Baranya County irrigation areas increased the production of sugar beet and 18 agricultural farms in the area shipped sugar beet to the SFRY last season. The SFRY plants retain 30 percent of the sugar processed. This solution is favorable for both sides and cooperation is expected to continue. There is similar cooperation in soybean production and processing. [Summary] [*AU301333 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Mar 88 p 8C*]

Production Cooperation With USSR

A delegation of the Siberian section of the Soviet Academy of Sciences arrived in Miskolc on 28 March at the invitation of the North Hungarian Innovation Center. The experts came to offer several of their installations used in the mining and construction industry for joint production. [Text] [*AU301303 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Mar 88 p 8*]

Industrial Talks With Egypt

Hungarian-Egyptian industrial talks ended in Budapest on 25 March. Hasaballah Muhammad al-Kafrawi, Egyptian Minister of Housing, Utilities, and New Urban Communities, held talks with Industry Minister Frigyes Berecz on the industrial cooperation between the two countries, the situation in bilateral economic relations, and the possibilities of their further development, with particular attention to the Hungarian contribution to the implementation of the Egyptian environmental protection and economic infrastructure development plans. The Egyptian minister held talks with Laszlo Somogyi, minister of Construction and Urban Development, and with Miklos Varga, state secretary at the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Management. The guest was received by Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade. The Egyptian minister left Budapest on 25 March. [Text] [*AU281421 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Mar 88 p 4*]

Economic Talks With Canada

Hungarian-Canadian economic chamber talks ended on 21 March. At the talks, the participants discussed the development of business relations between Hungarian and Canadian enterprises and the preparation of Hungarian economic and technological days to be organized in Canada in September 1988. Peter Lorincze, general secretary of the Hungarian Economic Chamber, held talks with Canadian businessmen and was received by Guy Rivard, deputy Foreign Trade minister of Quebec, and by George Collin, deputy minister of Agriculture of Ontario. [Summary] [*AU251210 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Mar 88 p 5*]

Syrian Ba'th Party Delegation

A delegation of the Syrian Solidarity Committee led by 'Abd al-Razek Awad, member of the Central Committee of the Ba'th Party, visited Hungary between 16 and 23 March. The delegation held talks with Sandor Jakab, chairman of the Hungarian Solidarity Committee, on the situation of their countries and movements, exchanged opinions on international and solidarity issues and on opportunities to develop cooperation. The Syrian delegation also met with officials of various social organizations. The talks were characterized by a similarity of views and positions, particularly on the issue of the Middle East and solving the Palestinian problem. [Summary] [*AU301043 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Mar 88 p 5*]

Communique Issued on USIS Head Wick's Visit
AU011035 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Mar 88 p 2

[Text] PAP—Charles Z. Wick, head of the USIS, has visited Poland at the invitation of Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski. C. Wick was received by Zbigniew Messner, Jozef Czyrek, Marian Orzechowski, and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. He met with Ministers Henryk Bednarski and Aleksander Krawczuk, with Janusz Roszkowski, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, and with Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban.

The sides exchanged views on the condition of and prospects for bilateral relations in the area of information, culture, and education. They also discussed specific measures favoring the mutually advantageous development of these relations, and examined the issue of increasing the number of cultural projects and stimulating scholarship exchanges.

C. Wick visited places connected with F. Chopin, including Zelazowa Wola, where he met with representatives of the F. Chopin Association and the Chopin Foundation, and opened the Warsaw exhibition entitled "The American Theater."

The American guest also toured the former German concentration camp in Auschwitz-Birkenau and visited the Pediatric Institute of the Medical Academy Hospital in Krakow.

Trade Minister, U.S. Ambassador Davis Meet
LD300159 Warsaw International Service in English 2230 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Poland's minister of economic cooperation with abroad met Monday with U.S. Ambassador John Davis. They reviewed activity and the further activization of Polish-American economic and trade relations. The occasion for this meeting was the beginning by Mr Davis of his diplomatic mission here. After a break of several years Polish-U.S. diplomatic relations have been resumed on the ambassadorial level.

Lagging Economic Cooperation With UK Viewed
AU010738 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Mar 88 p 5

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski London dispatch: "British Caution or Opportunities Yet To Be Taken?"]

[Excerpts] Great Britain is one of the Western countries that have still not drawn all the conclusions from Poland's present situation. Formally, the British evaluations of our socioeconomic transformations and reforms are positive, but it is a fact that the British Government does not associate our policy with the economy and is not in a hurry to make decisions that might promote mutual cooperation.

Instead of talking about a realistic evaluation of possibilities for easing our financial obligations through fiscal and industrial-trade cooperation, London continues to wait for further measures by the IMF, the Paris Club, and the EEC. This is strange because Great Britain is an important member of these institutions and could display greater militancy in promoting familiar Polish initiatives. During many talks in London I was assured of the political understanding of and support for our reforms, but little is being done in practice if we compare our needs and mutual potential with the scale of official assurances. The civil service establishment of the British Government is favorable to Polish economic measures, but has still not received that supreme signal for action that can only be sent out from 10 Downing Street— that is, from Mrs Margaret Thatcher's official residence. The fact that she continues to concentrate more and more power in her own hands is the reason for the present attitude of waiting and for the absolute certainty that, if the lady prime minister says yes, everything can happen. This is exactly how things were at the time of Winston Churchill.

Private entrepreneurs continue to display more untrammeled militancy. The resolute government has strengthened its position through the policy of various freedoms, lower taxation, denationalization of 16 large concerns, and export incentives. From the beginning of the eighties, this has resulted in increases in industrial production, national income, exports, and work efficiency. [passage omitted]

We hope that the continuation of denationalization of enterprises and of legal concessions for private firms will also help increase economic militancy in cooperation with Poland. My hopes have been confirmed by my talks in the Confederation of British Industry housed in Center Point at New Oxford Street.

Stephen Woolcock, deputy head of the international department of the Confederation, assured me that:

—"The reform of the Polish economy continues to attract the general interest of British business";

—"Many firms in the engineering, metallurgical, and other industries are interested in increasing their purchases in Poland and in increased trade with Poland";

—"Some firms have even started talks with their banks about backing by loans, present cooperation, and joint exports to third countries." [passage omitted]

Other talks confirmed increased British interest in trade with Poland. For example, British exports to Poland increased in 1983-87 from 151.8 to 181.5 million pounds and British imports from Poland increased from 77.3 to 300.4 million pounds, which means that the average annual increase amounted to about 15 percent.

This is not bad, but if we compare these figures to the overall figures of British foreign trade, our share is very modest indeed. London statistics place us 50th odd in the list of countries buying in Great Britain and 40th odd in the list of countries selling in Great Britain. [passage omitted]

What can be said about the British, following my London talks?

For them, Poland is only one of many possible partners in trade. The British will take advantage of this possibility when they see that business can be profitable and when they are sure that there are no bureaucratic obstacles to production-trade, quality, and fiscal decisions.

"This is precisely what is changing slowly," I heard this said several times in the Ministry of Industry and later on in the confederation of private firms.

Unfortunately, while taking a political interest in Poland's present changes, Britain is very slow in changing its attitude about the Polish economy. Business still lacks the impetus that is present in politics, especially following Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski's recent visit to Great Britain. Perhaps some Italian and West German moves, which are being analyzed in London, will produce this impetus? Perhaps it is we who should help the Britons to discover more new opportunities adapted to economic needs?

These opportunities continue to expand as the favorable political and economic situation of Mrs Thatcher's team continues to last. As Rodney Tyler, who worships Mrs Thatcher, wrote in his book "The Prime Minister's Sales Campaigns" dedicated to her, these opportunities are related to the "restructuring of the United Kingdom's strength." However, in the case of Poland the campaign is very cautious and an opportunity that has yet to be taken.

Orzechowski Cites 'Unchanging' Foreign Policy

LD311010 Warsaw PAP in English
1301 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw, March 26—Following are excepts of an address delivered today by Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski to the international conference of peasant and related parties and organizations in Warsaw:

The modern world is changing fast. With all its diversity, clashing trends and growing global threats, a sense of interdependence of the destinies of states and nations is, nonetheless, growing stronger.

All this places ever new, complex tasks before Poland's foreign policy. We are adjusting the contents, forms and methods of its implementation to the changing conditions and growing requirements. Does this also mean a change in Polish foreign policy. Certainly not. It has been unchanging and firm for more than 40 years.

I think that the essence of our foreign policy consists, first and foremost, in its deeply peaceful and humanistic character, high activity and perseverance, boldness of initiatives, and openness to dialogue, to agreement and cooperation with all partners. Poland does not pose a threat to anyone. Poland does not want to have enemies. We want friendly relations, fruitful cooperation, mutual understanding and friendliness with all nations.

Such values as peace, security, sovereignty, mutually advantageous international cooperation based on equal rights acquire a special dimension in the consciousness of our society and assume to the rank of national strategy.

The concordance of the interests of the Polish reason of state with the interests of our allies—the Soviet Union and the entire community of socialist states, with the interests of security and cooperation in Europe, is an especially significant factor of materializing this strategy.

The fraternal alliance with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, born of common struggle with the Nazi aggressor, enriched in recent decades with the accomplishments of friendly cooperation in implementing common systemic goals and aspirations, is today multiplied by new, contemporary contents. The relations between our states and nations are nowadays better than ever before.

The convergence of the revolutionary cause of Soviet perestroyka and the Polish strategy of socialist renewal and reforms opens prospects for qualitatively new, comprehensive cooperation. It is becoming increasingly easier to implement and harmonize our interests. Today we tackle, in a partnerly [as received] manner, also those matters which for various reasons have thus far remained outside our view.

It is on the transformations taking place in the countries of our community and the entire socialist world that we pin hopes for a deepening of the authenticity of our political, social and cultural ties, and for new contents and methods of our economic cooperation and multilateral integration.

Along with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community we speak in favor of the peaceful co-existence of all states, regardless of systemic and cultural differences. Poland's interest is inseparably tied with detente and dialogue. We are traditionally open to the world. We express readiness to cooperate with every government, movement and social force, with every honest partner respecting our sovereignty.

Security in today's world is indivisible and has many dimensions. Efforts to ensure one's own security at the cost of the security of others are short-sighted.

With this intention in mind, we lend full support to the Soviet concept of constructing a system of common international security. This calls for a simultaneous and concordant consideration of all aspects of international relations: Political, military, economic, humanitarian, cultural and no other than ecological.

Poland's practical contribution to the reconstruction of the security system is the plan to decrease armaments and increase confidence in central Europe, forwarded last year by Wojciech Jaruzelski. This proposal is a continuation of that direction of the Polish political thought which produced the Rapacki Plan in the 1950s and the Gomulka Plan in the 1960s. Since the situation has changed, it (Jaruzelski Plan) differs from them on its merits. Yet the intentions remain the same.

We treat the Jaruzelski Plan as our contribution to the materialization of Gorbachev's idea of new thinking in international relations.

The recent months have added to the hope of the international community for the acceleration of the whole disarmament process, in the field of both strategic and other nuclear weapons and conventional disarmament in Europe. We received with satisfaction the support expressed by the recent NATO summit for the treaty on elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

We are however disappointed by the fact that the summit failed to close the door before the concepts of "compensating" the eliminated nuclear missiles with conventional armaments and the modernization of nuclear forces in France and Great Britain.

We think that the Washington treaty and the real prospect for the signing of the treaty on halving strategic weapons by the Soviet Union and the U.S. are conducive to significantly raising the level of international security. This does not give any pretext for an intensified forcing of armament concepts.

Disarmament and development, these are but three words but how much contents do they carry. How much easier would it be to solve, for example, the problems of natural environment protection were it possible to move farther on the road to disarmament.

We, therefore, proclaim to our Western partners: Instead of remaining in the pattern of anti-Sovietism and the psychology of mutual fear, let us sit down at a common negotiating table, for instance, in Vienna. Let us make an effort of reducing conventional armaments on the principle of equality. This is the more realistic as the Warsaw Treaty states demonstrate a readiness to negotiate on the question of removing segmental asymmetry, eliminating potentials used in surprise aggression and attacks on a great scale, and far-reaching control and verification of signed agreements.

The committee of the Foreign Ministers of States-Parties to the Warsaw Treaty will meet again in Sofia in a few days. We will make there a joint, allied assessment of the current state of the situation and key issues of security and peace in Europe.

Europe is also a place of Poland's basic political activity. This is determined by the situation of our country in the centre of the continent, on the crossroads of civilization "Draughts of History," on land which for centuries was the arena of historical storms and bloody wars. We are tied with Europe by vital social links and economic interests. The roots of original Polish culture and customs stem from Europe.

Our special involvement in the European affairs also stems from deep concern for the future of the old continent. Today it is a region of the greatest concentration of the forces and means of annihilation and destruction. The process of Eastern and Western parts of Europe moving away from each other still goes on. The economic-civilizational entirety is being increasingly strained. The all-European identity of the residents of our continent is continously being put to new tests.

We have for long been striving for the democratization, stabilization and a specific "Europization" of European relations. We endorse the equal rights, active contribution of all the states of the content, including small and medium—sized ones, to maintaining intensive political dialogue, to the development of fruitful, all-European economic, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation as well as in the sphere of information and contacts between societies.

The need to consolidate the postwar, territorial-political status quo is associated with this. Every attempt to question the existing borders signifies a threat of disturbing stability and European equilibrium and leads to the aggravation of international relations. This signifies a danger to the key security interests of our country. What I have in mind are some aspects of the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, pursued under the sign of the so-called German "legal positions." Just like we have done it so far, also in the future we shall firmly oppose these trends along with our allies.

Poland was one of the initiators of the Helsinki conference of 35 states of Europe and Northern America which gave rise to the CSCE process. We unceasingly act to strengthen it, to transform it into a permanent negotiating forum, into an effective instrument of stimulating the development of cooperation, strengthening confidence, solving disputes and constructing collective security on the continent. We approach the implementation of the agreements reached on the CSCE forum with all

seriousness, we honestly execute our obligations and keep to the declarations which we made. We show utmost interest in the meeting in Vienna resulting in most significant achievements, in the constant progress of the post-Helsinki process.

Economic ties strengthened for ages and regional production specializations shaped. Wars and armed conflicts disturbed these processes many a time but later on they generally returned to their traditional dynamics. Political reasons did not, however, for many years now—and years of peace at that—hamper economic cooperation to such an extent as today. For years now economic instruments have not been reached for so easily to achieve political goals as they are today.

Halting and reversing these negative trends lies in the interest of all nations of Europe. We expect that the adoption a of joint CMEA-EEC declaration, followed by the establishment of definite cooperation by the states of both blocs, would be conducive to this, in both the multilateral and bilateral dimension.

In the CSCE process we also lay stress on cultural cooperation. The awareness of cultural kinship is still deep among the inhabitants of our continent. Concern for the protection of European heritage is growing. We also want to meet the lively interests of Polish society in the cultural achievements of other nations halfway. With this intention we advanced, along with a group of states, an idea of convening a seminar in Krakow on protecting and developing European cultural, material and spiritual heritage. This was favourably received by the remaining participants of the Vienna meeting.

In our foreign policy, we attach the ever greater attention to ecological issues. It is just Europe which, due to its high urban density, saturation with industry, the scope of population, priceless monuments of culture and unique values of landscape and nature, should more than ever consolidate efforts to save the natural environment. We consider the new proposals and initiatives forwarded in this respect by Roman Malinowski in his opening report as very accurate and useful. A Polish governmental delegation will soon appropriately express it by presenting them to the 43rd session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva.

We maintain relations, conduct dialogue and keep political and economic contacts with nearly all the sovereign states of the world. We attach great significance to the problems of North-South cooperation, to the activity carried out within the movement of non-aligned states. We also contribute, within our possibilities, to overcoming the obstacles on the road leading to the all-round development of the so-called Third World countries.

We are trying to help settle regional conflicts by political means. We are vitally interested in strenghthening the importance and the universal character of the United Nations. For Poland, the U.N. has been and will continue to be the most competent forum of solving complex problems of the contemporary time.

Third Round of Price Hikes in Effect

AU011207 Paris AFP in English
1157 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, April 1 (AFP)—A third round of price rises came into force on Friday, increasing the cost of gas, electricity and coal by 100 to 200 percent, officials said. [passage omitted]

Both Solidarity, the banned but still influential trade union movement, and the OPZZ, the official union confederation, have criticized the hikes as too harsh and called for bigger pay increases. [passage omitted]

Planning Body Urges Cut in Government Orders

LD010930 Warsaw PAP in English
0208 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, March 31—Today's meeting of top officials of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers focused upon proposals to limit governmental orders for raw materials and products as well as to narrow the list of items encompassed with obligatory government-controlled system of intermediaries.

Chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Zdzislaw Sadowski, the meeting was attended by ministers concerned and representatives of political organizations.

The meeting underscored that introduced in 1983, government orders and contracts had so far proved a good and rational instrument of Polish reforms.

In the course of a debate that ensued, the meeting participants declared themselves in favour of radical limitation of the range of governmental orders with parallel maintenance of those orders for raw materials and products which serve as an instrument to carry out structural changes aimed at development of manufacture of modern products and materials the production of which allows to attain high effectiveness and to economize on energy and raw materials.

Operations of New Capital Funding Body Noted

PM311129 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish
11 Mar 88 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Wroblewski, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Industry, by GLOS ROBOTNICZY correspondent Leszek Rudnicki; date, place not given]

[Text] [Rudnicki] The average person does not glean much knowledge from the monthly progress reports on the implementation of the economic reform. For example, a recent report included an item about the creation of the Structural Changes Foundation. As far as I know, you are personally involved in the work to set up the foundation.

[Wroblewski] That is true. I am also deputy chairman of the foundation's Board of Supervisors.

[Rudnicki] And who is the chairman?

[Wroblewski] Prof Edward Grzywa.

[Rudnicki] What is the foundation supposed to be? Is it yet another bank?

[Wroblewski] On the contrary! I should say it is seen as an institution of capital. In the West they have something called capital location institutions. Our task is similar. But even our name stipulates that we must look for opportunities to bring about structural changes in the economy.

[Rudnicki] What kind of changes?

[Wroblewski] The basis for our operations will be the program of structural changes adopted by the Ministry of Industry. Today I can say that we are interested in areas such as the program for developing and improving the efficiency of the building materials manufacturing industry. Or the program for saving materials and components, or, finally, the export-promotion program. [Rudnicki] Does this mean that enterprises wishing to invest in these areas can apply to you?

[Wroblewski] We are already inundated with applications, although I suspect that these are submitted "just in case." Someone hears that we are setting up an institution which will have money at its disposal. So they quickly send in an application to secure for themselves a place in line when the dough is handed out. Nothing could be more wrong! We are not going to hand out money. Not as subsidies, nor in any other form. The foundation will not invite applications. It will be an active institution which will approach enterprises with its own offers. Of the myriad applications for financial assistance we have received so far, not one qualifies for consideration.

[Rudnicki] To carry out operations as planned you need to have considerable resources at your disposal. Where are you going to get them?

[Wroblewski] The foundation has been given a kind of initial capital. This is made up of revenues previously received by the treasury in the form of amortization, as well as remittances and liabilities from such previously established funds as the fuel economy fund and the fund for the utilization of recycled and waste materials.

There is, however, one condition: This money cannot be "frittered away." We may not give it away. We can only use it to earn more money. We estimate that over 12 months our initial capital will total about Z100 billion, but since the revenues will be arriving in monthly installments, we cannot start our financial operations until April.

[Rudnicki] Your restructuring operations will presumably require other currencies besides the zloty.

[Wroblewski] That has also been envisaged. We have at our disposal the sum of about 238 million dollars, which is made up of resources allocated for specific programs and operations by the Central Annual Plan. These include programs in such fields as electronics, medicinal drugs and pharmacology, packaging, and so on. In this particular case, then, we will be acting like a distribution center, since these sums have already been allocated in the plan. Nonetheless, our capacity as an intermediary will be unique because we will take particular care not to waste a single cent. Each dollar must quickly bring profit in the form of modern production designed primarily for export, but also in the form of significant and lasting structural changes. On our part, we are going to ensure that in case of any delays in the investment of these resources they are used in alternative ways so that—as far as possible—the money can still earn some profit rather than just lie there waiting to be spent.

[Rudnicki] It seems to me that you will need a formidable administrative apparatus to carry out your plans....

[Wroblewski] The foundation's entire "crew" totals 80 people. The board will comprise four persons. There will be three sectors: organization of the turnover of the foundation's resources, the foundation's policy, and the experts group. The secret lies in the application of modern methods of organization and the adoption of extremely strict operational criteria. Each candidate willing to accept our offer, or each individual applicant, must present us with detailed documentation which will be examined and analyzed. On this basis, the board will decide whether we will grant them credit or a loan, set up joint partnership with them, or take advantage of other possible courses of action. There is only one condition: Every financial undertaking must be profitable for the economy as well as for the foundation, and—by the same token—for the enterprise involved. We are interested in development, not in the foundation existing just for the sake of it.

[Rudnicki] If you grant credits or loans, who will decide the interest rate?

[Wroblewski] The board, basing its decision on the real rate of interest. And the interest rate could vary in each case, because we will apply here a policy of rebates designed to act as incentives but at the same time guaranteeing the profitability of the undertaking.

[Rudnicki] What will you do if, for example, a joint venture you enter into comes to naught?

[Wroblewski] Our contracts will be mutually binding, and thus they will include clauses that will ensure material guarantees. We will provide the financial means and the enterprise will pledge its assets as a guarantee that

they will be used according to the contract. There is no progress without risk: If they squander the money, we will take over the agreed proportion of their assets.

[Rudnicki] In particular cases, then, you could even take over an entire enterprise?

[Wroblewski] Of course!

[Rudnicki] And what would you do with it?

[Wroblewski] That will be for our experts to decide. There are many possibilities. We will either sell it to somebody else, or use it as our investment when setting up another joint venture, or we will keep it as owners to launch the kind of production that would be required from the viewpoint of the economy and its structural changes. Please remember that each of our ventures will be undertaken with the aim of increasing our economic potential and our production capacity, first and foremost in areas included in the program of structural changes.

[Rudnicki] What about the possibility of cooperation with foreign partners?

[Wroblewski] The possibility of joint ventures involving foreign capital has been envisaged. We are examining the possibility of launching such ventures before the end of the year. For obvious reasons I cannot say anything more about it at the moment.

[Rudnicki] When can state enterprises expect to start receiving concrete proposals from the foundation?

[Wroblewski] Why only state enterprises? We are interested in all fields of economic activity. It can be state enterprises, cooperatives, or even small handicraft firms. We are interested in everything that is economically cost-effective and can speed up the rate of changes taking place in the economy. But I must make it clear that the requirements for cost-effectiveness will be very high. We have, in any case, adopted the methods used by the World Bank in analyzing every proposal with extreme care and preparing a prognosis of the expected results. We will not be able to present a factual report on our projects for at least a month. As I said earlier, it is not enough to map out the foundation's policy: We must also make enough money to launch our operations.

[Rudnicki] I am slightly apprehensive about your chances of success. Will you be able to fend off pressure from various sources? Moreover, your criteria must be very precise, and I wonder whether you will be able to do this. For example, what would you do if you received an application from the FSO [automobile factory] asking for money after they have signed a contract for the manufacture of a new car?

[Wroblewski] I will give you an answer relating to a different field. We all know the importance of electronics in the modern world. And, among other things, electronics means integrated circuits. These have been made in the past, are being made now, and will continue to be made. We will be interested in ensuring that the ones to be made from now on are at least two generations ahead of the ones we are making now. Only on that condition, and also on the condition that our economy profits by it along with our foundation, will we consider entering into joint ventures and signing contracts.

Here it is obviously necessary to point out a broader frame of reference. We are talking about the economy, about investment, and in particular about export, but where, in all this, is man with his needs? Am I not right? We must understand that if we have enough hard currency we will be able to solve all our market problems in no time at all! But if we get into subsidized market production, we will again wind up in a blind alley. Progress depends on making correct economic choices. They are difficult choices, but they must be made if we want a brighter future.

[Rudnicki] Thank you for talking to me. I can promise you that we will watch the undertakings of your foundation with the greatest interest. In the meantime, we wish you success!

Socioeconomic Council Examines 'Social Wrongs'

AU311223 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 29 Mar 88 pp 1, 2

[Staff report: "Socioeconomic Council Regards CombaTting of Social Wrongs as Spurious Activity"]

[Text] The Socioeconomic Council's official view of the government report concerning the implementation of the program for preventing and combating social wrongs and crime in 1986-90 is a "diplomatic" or "parliamentary" view, but the views expressed in the "wings" describe this report in stronger terms.

What has been done and what the government report says is no more than organizational comings and goings, Kazimierz Kakol said, adding that the government's activity is spurious. We still continue to make forecasts, but real action is very far away.

At their 28 March plenary session, members of the Socioeconomic Council discussed the bill on changing the price law, the bill on foreign companies in the PPR, and the aforementioned government report on combating social wrongs and crime.

The latter provoked a large number of critical views. Here are some of them:

The government report does not deserve a considered opinion because it does not fulfill social expectations, because it is shallow, and does not propose anything

special. The report does not answer the question why, despite efforts, almost no satisfying results have been obtained so far. Faulty social policy is responsible for the fact that people do not back the authorities even when they take useful initiatives.

Participants in the discussion were most outspoken about the inconsistencies in observing the law. It can be said that the 1982 "Law on Training in Sobriety" has not taken root in our country.

The discussion was concluded by Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Czubinski, who acknowledged the council members' criticism, but said that 1987 was the first year of the implementation of the government program and therefore it was difficult to expect tangible results from it. He said that statistics give cause for optimism, despite everything, and that bad trends have been halted in recent months.

The session will continue on 29 March.

Leaders Discuss People's Council Elections

LD312221 Warsaw PAP in English 1853 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw, March 31—The Central Commission for Cooperation between the PUWP, the United Peasant Party UPP and the Democratic Party DP today held a meeting attended by signatories of the Declaration on the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON)—The "Pax" Catholic Association, Christian Social Association CHSS and the Polish Union of Lay Catholics PZKS.

The meeting was attended by top officials of the PUWP, with Wojciech Jaruzelski, of the UPP with Roman Malinowski, of the DP with Tadeusz Mlynczak, of "Pax" with Zenon Komender, of the CHSS with Kazimierz Morawski and the PZKS with Wielsaw Gwiazda.

The commission's debates were also attended by chairman of PRON's National Council Jan Dobraczynski.

The commission reviewed problems linked with the preparations for and the staging of elections to People's Council.

The sides expressed the will for the intensification of cooperation and efforts of their authorities of various levels and basic links in the implementation of the goals of the election campaign which should be a confirmation of the consistent fulfilment of the line of socialist renewal, policy of reforms of the social and economic system and serve the integration and strengthening of forces of patriotic renewal.

The commission stressed that the creation of conditions for a general and genuine participation of citizens in the election campaign and their activity, especially in the process of putting up candidates for councillors, during citizens' consultative meetings and meetings of candidates with electors, will serve the process of democratization of social life.

The central commission has defined for its authorities of different levels, local links and [word indistinct] the joint tasks in the election to People's Councils.

Oppositionist Queried on Solutions to Crisis

AU301039 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 27 Mar 88 p 7

[From the press review]

[Text] Issue No 2 of KONFRONTACJE, a monthly published by the PRON National Council, carries an unprecedented interview with Bronislaw Geremek [prominent opposition intellectual]. Asking readers to read the text of the interview conducted by Jerzy Szczesny, we hereby publish excerpts from it:

[Geremek] For the first time, a situation has arisen in which the communities that are in opposition to or independent of the present authorities are not the only ones to speak of the structural and not seasonal crisis. The governing elites—not only those in Poland—are now openly talking about it.

Almost all European socialist countries now face this problem, which is more than just some shortcomings or shortages that can be somehow patched up. This problem is much more! It is the crisis of a certain system. (...) But I would like to draw attention to special peculiarities of the Polish situation. The first is the depth of the crisis and the shortage of those raw resources that can shore up attempts at Soviet or Chinese reforms. The second Polish peculiarity is the level of the experience and aspirations of our society. In Poland we not only have noncollectivized farming and the special role of the Catholic Church, but also the community of citizens with strong and genuinely cultivated democratic traditions.

[Szczesny] Does this hinder the process of reforming the Polish system?

[Geremek] If the authorities display the necessary modicum of social imagination, depart from the thinking standardized over many years, and shake off the established patterns, which were convenient at one time but are now like shackles, then I think that those Polish peculiarities will help halt the dangerous trends now affecting the Polish national economy and Polish psychology. Private farming continues to remind us of the market's importance and of problems of ownership as some of the keys to the reform. The Catholic Church's moral authority makes us hope that the crisis of confidence will be overcome and that mediation will be possible. Finally, the existence of the civic community guarantees that group activities will be subjected to the

rigors of common sense and political imagination. This is invaluable assistance for a genuine reform, one that is supposed to restore the economy to rationality and to make one's work meaningful again. However, before this chance is exploited, the priorities in relations between the economy and politics must be shifted.

(...) I am convinced that at the turn of 1987 to 1988 we—both the authorities and the community—are still experiencing something like a state of emergency. Getting out of this state is getting out of a clinch and conflict, in which both sides show little trust, but a great deal of anxiety, fright, aversion, and even hatred at times. It is high time to get out of this state! What can we then expect from those whom I conventionally call the authorities? Primarily we expect them to depart from what constituted the emergency introduced on 13 December 1981. We expect them to abandon all the legal powers which were conceived as insurance for the decision of 13 December, but which are still in force in their significant parts. This is so in the cases of the performance of the judicial system and the internal ministry and of individual and collective civic rights. In those days the valid principle of trade union pluralism was also suspended. It is true that the new trade union law has introduced this principle, but it has also suspended it until an appropriate decision is made by the State Council. Such a decision would prove to be of the utmost importance now. Carrying on the dialogue with the community calls for recognizing its right to self-organization. No window-dressing institutions will ever replace such an organization.

But what should one expect society to do in the process to move away from the psychology of the state of emergency in which I think it is still rooted? I think that it would have to accept exclusively those social activities that are based on accords. In 1980 the social accords were not merely a response to the great strike. They amounted primarily to accepting a new system—the one that recognized the separateness and identity of partners on both sides. I think that recognizing the identity of the partner means that society accepts the existing legal order and the PZPR's leading role as starting points and realizes that this leading role to some extent amounts to power monopoly. The area of social accords is outside the area of the necessary monopoly of power.

[Szczesny] What areas does the monopoly of power necessarily cover?

[Geremek] Foreign and defense policy, the country's security, and, to some extent, the representative system, but the point is that the more democratic this system is during elections and parliamentary practices, the better it is for the people and for those in power. However, I want to stress that I am not in favor of the monopoly of power, because I am against political, ideological, economic, and any other monopoly. But I do accept our political reality as recorded in the Constitution, regardless of whether I like it or not. I concede that there are certain areas of public life in which the authorities hold the initiative to curb monopoly. I also believe that curbing monopoly is in the interest of the authorities themselves. The issue of monopoly in the representative system is the most sensitive issue for the authorities and perhaps the most crucial for the people. The more extensively the authorities curb their monopoly in this regard, the more successful they will be in promoting the rules of democratic order and the better for us. (...)

[Szczesny] Since no Pole questions the depth of our crisis and its dangers, would it be possible to conclude a kind of anticrisis pact, one which would stir hope, rouse the people out of their lethargy, and indicate new prospects?

[Geremek] I think that an affirmative response to this question would be important and fruitful. Such a pact is still possible. It may be surprising, but I think that concluding such a social pact against our crisis is more feasible now than in 1981. Why? Because of the experience the two sides have won before and after 13 December 1981. The people have learned that they must put reasonable limits on their aspirations and goals, and the authorities have learned that without genuine social forces it is impossible to improve the country's economic situation, something everyone desires. It is possible to define the area of common good and to subordinate the conflict situations to this good. I repeat: For this reason the anticrisis pact would be more feasible now than it was in 1981. However, a certain difficulty in concluding it does exist. In 1981 the social partner had a clear identity, but this identity is not so clear now. Today we cannot say that there exists a dualism of the authorities and society. Our society is differentiated and composed of a variety of interest groups. That is why before society subscribes to the anticrisis pact, pluralism would have to be institutionalized. This pluralism involves great masses of society—workers and peasants—and not only the intelligentsia. It involves all our people. I make no secret of the fact that I attach major importance to trade union pluralism, in which case a genuine partner would return to the public scene, one who enjoys social trust and is conscious of responsibility. (...)

Leaders' Public Appearances 23-29 Mar

AU010805 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish from 24 through 30 March reports the following public appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number given in parentheses):

On 24 March, Premier Zbigniew Messner received Czeslaw Piotrowski, Polish ambassador in Yugoslavia (25 Mar p 2); on 26 March he attended the Warsaw function to mark Metallurgical Workers Day (28 Mar p 2).

On 23 March, Politburo Member Kazimierz Barcikowski received Karol Nowakowski, new Polish ambassador to Norway (24 Mar p 2); on 24 March he received

Father Henryk Ostach, chairman of the Polish Apiarian Union (25 Mar p 2); on 29 March he visited the Mining Medical Center in Katowice (30 Mar p 1).

On 29 March, Jozef Baryla, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, visited an outpatients' clinic in Zawiercie (30 Mar p 1).

On 2 March, Politburo Candidate Member Stanislaw Bejger chaired the Gdansk party plenum discussing the implementation of the 10th Congress program (28 Mar p 4).

Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek attended the 24 March session of the Organizational Committee for Marking the 70th Anniversary of Poland's Regained Independence (25 Mar p 2); on 25 March he chaired the PRON session discussing PRON tasks resulting from the new election law on the people's councils (26-27 Mar p 2); on 29 March he visited an outpatients' clinic and the specialist hospital in Tychy (30 Mar p 1).

Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak met with participants attending the seminar on the role of party organizations in implementing the second stage of the economic reforms (date not given) (25 Mar p 2); on 25 March he chaired the session of voivodship party secretaries discussing party tasks in connection with elections to the people's councils (26-27 Mar p 2); on 26 March he attended the Bialystok party plenum on economic reform (28 Mar p 4).

Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended the 23 March session of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission discussing Poland's debt (24 Mar p 2); on 24 March he received Horst Neubauer, departing FRG ambassador to Poland (25 Mar p 2); on 25 March he attended the Warsaw international conference of peasant and associated parties discussing ecology (26-27 Mar p 2); on 29 March he visited the city hospital in Ruda Slaska (30 Mar p 1).

On 29 March, Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, visited the hospital run by the Medical Academy in Katowice (30 Mar p 1).

On 29 March, Politburo Member Czeslaw Kiszczak visited the hospital run by the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Katowice (30 Mar p 1).

On 29 March, Politburo Candidate Member Janusz Kubasiewicz visited the Siemianowice hospital (30 Mar p 1).

Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, received a delegation of Soviet collective farmers on 23 March (24 Mar p 2); on 25 March he attended the Warsaw international conference of peasant and associated parties discussing ecology (26-27 Mar p 2); on 28 March he attended the Suwalki party plenum discussing farm production (29 Mar p 2); on 29 March he visited hospital facilities in Zbroslowice and Tarnowskie Gory (30 Mar p 1).

On 24 March, Politburo Member Alfred Miodowicz received a delegation of the leadership of the International Union of Metallurgical Union and met with WFTU Marion Navarro (25 Mar p 2); on 26 March he attended the Warsaw function to mark Metallurgical Workers Day (28 Mar p 2) and participated in the consultative meeting of over 100 chairmen of trade unions in important plants (28 Mar p 4); on 29 March he visited the Miasteczko Slaskie zinc plant medical facilities in Tarnowskie Gory (30 Mar p 1).

On 29 March, Politburo Member Zygmunt Muranski visited medical and hospital facilities in Sosnowiec and Dabrowa Gornicza (30 Mar p 1).

On 29 March, Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, visited medical and hospital facilities in Sosnowiec and Dabrowa Gornicza (30 Mar p 1).

Politburo Member Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Presidium of the Society Backing Economic Initiatives, met with Vice Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski to discuss the implementation of the second stage of economic reform (28 Mar p 2); on 29 March he visited hospital No 2 in Bytom (30 Mar p 1).

On 26 March, Politburo Candidate Member Gabriela Rembisz attended the Gdansk party plenum discussing the implementation of the 10th party program (28 Mar p 4); on 29 March she visited the mining hospital in Bytom (30 Mar p 1).

On 29 March, Politburo Member Florian Siwicki visited the regional oncologic center in Gliwice (30 Mar p 1).

On 29 March, Politburo Member Zofia Stepien visited the home for handicapped children in Chorzow (30 Mar p 1).

On 25 March, Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski received members of the the Association of Sculptors (26-27 Mar p 2)

SFRY-USSR Long-Term Economic Program

PM311355 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 13, Mar 88 (Signed to Press 24 Mar 88) p 21

["Long-Term Program for Economic Cooperation Between the USSR and the SFRY Through the Year 2000" carried under the headline "In the Interests of the Development of Intensive Cooperation"—first paragraph is an EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] A series of Soviet-Yugoslav documents, including a Long-Term Program for Economic Cooperation Between the USSR and the SFRY Through the Year 2000, were signed during the official friendly visit to the SFRY by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the FEC of the Federal Assembly of the SFRY, hereinafter referred to as the parties,

in conformity with the policy of the USSR and the policy of the SFRY aimed at further strengthening friendship between the peoples of both countries,

proceeding from the determination to continue to develop and deepen all-around mutually advantageous and equal economic, scientific, and technical cooperation in line with the principles contained in the 1955 Belgrade Declaration, the 1956 Moscow Statement and Declaration, and other Soviet-Yugoslav documents,

taking into consideration the level attained in the development of both countries' national economies, their economic potential and their complementary nature, the need to enhance production efficiency, and other goals of economic and social development, primarily on the basis of accelerating scientific and technical progress,

relying on the results of the development of economic cooperation, the relations established in the course of this cooperation, and the experience accumulated during the implementation of the Long-Term Program for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY for 1981-1990 and the Basic Guidelines for Long-term Cooperation Between the USSR and the SFRY in the Sphere of Science and Technology Through the Year 2000,

in the interests of the development of intensive cooperation between interested scientific research and economic organizations and associations on a long-term and stable basis,

have adopted the present Long-Term Program for Economic Cooperation Between the USSR and the SFRY Through the Year 2000.

I

The development of economic cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY on a long-term basis will contribute to the more rational use of existing production capacities and material resources and the application of highly efficient equipment and technologies in both countries' national economy.

The volumes, conditions, and forms of such cooperation will be determined by the competent organs and/or organizations of both countries for the appropriate periods and will be formulated in agreements, contracts, and other documents.

The parties believe the basis of future stable and long-term economic relations is provided by the all-around development of production ties between Soviet and Yugoslav organizations with the application of primarily advanced forms of cooperation, which will have a substantial effect on the improvement of commodity turnover structure.

The development of economic cooperation between the two countries must be implemented on the basis of equilibrium in the balance of payments relationship.

II

In the course of the further development of Soviet-Yugoslav economic cooperation, the parties will give particular attention to:

the enhancement of the technical standards and quality of reciprocally delivered output in line with the requirements of scientific and technical progress;

the rational use of economic potential, especially in machine building including shipbuilding, bearing in mind the specialization of existing and newly-created production units in conformity with mutual interests;

the development and introduction in production of new technological processes, machines, equipment, units, and components up to world technical standards and ensuring high labor productivity, automation, savings of energy and of raw and other materials, and a high degree of thoroughness in raw-material processing;

the development of specialization and production sharing in units and components, reciprocal deliveries of kits, units, and spare parts, rational division of production programs, and specialization in the development of individual components of capital equipment;

the improvement of the structure of production and of the consumption of raw and other material and the reduction of the energy- and materials-intensiveness of production on the basis of the introduction of modern technological processes and the broad application of waste-free technologies.

For this purpose, the parties will encourage the development of mutually advantageous long-term cooperation between interested organs and organizations on the production and reciprocal delivery of the following machine building products:

flexible production systems and robots and robotic complexes based on equipment with progressive digital program control systems, components for them, and instruments;

equipment, units, and parts for the radio and electronics industry, communications means, and computer equipment;

new types of machines and equipment for heavy, power, and nuclear machine building, the electrical equipment and petrochemical industries, road building equipment, and equipment for the production of foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods;

equipment for the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes and of loading, unloading, and warehousing operations in industry, the construction industry, agriculture, and transport;

new generations of ships and ship equipment, modern automobiles and trucks, aviation equipment, pipeline equipment, and railroad and urban transport means and equipment to high technical and economic specifications.

Particular attention will be given to the supply of spare parts for reciprocally delivered machines and equipment and their technical servicing.

The parties will take the appropriate measures to develop cooperation in the sphere of production and reciprocal deliveries of fuel, energy, nonferrous and ferrous metals, and other raw material commodities.

Cooperation will expand in:

the chemical industry—on the production of toxic chemicals, varnishes and paints, polyurethanes, petrochemical products, industrial rubber products, low-bulk chemical industry products, and raw materials for their production;

in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy—on improving the quality, increasing the volume, and expanding the products range;

in the timber, pulp, and paper industry—on expanding the range and the exchanges of technologies and equipment;

in the pharmaceutical industry—on reciprocal deliveries of medicines and of raw and semiprocessed materials and substances for their production.

Cooperation in the sphere of the production of foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods will be channeled toward increasing the manufacture of high quality goods in a broader range, expanding specialization and production sharing, and increasing reciprocal deliveries. This will also be furthered by other forms of trade cooperation including the opening of specialized stores.

In the agro-industrial complex, the parties will channel their efforts toward expansion of cooperation in the sphere of selection and genetics, the production and exchange of seeds and planting materials, and the development and exchange of highly efficient technology and information. There will be joint work on the development and assimilation of new types of chemical plant protection agents and of machine and equipment systems for the harvesting, postharvest handling, and waste-free processing and storage of agricultural produce, and the automation of livestock and poultry breeding stock units. There will be broader exchanges of experience on the reduction of losses during the production, storage, transportation, and processing of agriculture and food industry products and on questions concerning the further improvement of the organization and management of production in the agro-industrial complex.

The parties will engage in cooperation on the development of land reclamation, irrigation, and soil cultivation systems aimed at maintaining and boosting soil fertility.

The parties attach great importance to the further development of cooperation in the sphere of capital construction and the reconstruction and modernization of industrial, power supply, agro-industrial, tourist, and other facilities by means of planning and research work, supply of machines and equipment, provision of assistance in their installation, trial runs, and commissioning, and joint construction of projects.

In the sphere of transportation, and with a view to ensuring the proper and prompt carriage of passengers and freight between the two countries and of shipments in transit, the parties will assist the further development of cooperation by:

ensuring the necessary throughput and carrying capacities for the prompt and unhindered transportation of foreign trade shipments and consignments in transit;

developing and introducing modern technologies for the carrying of shipments by all types of transportation and the handling of freight at transshipment stations, thus ensuring greater economic efficiency of shipments;

more swiftly developing passenger transportation, primarily air transportation, and providing passenger services in international transportation of the standard required to meet modern demands.

The parties will take the necessary measures to expand cooperation in the sphere of tourism and to increase the exchange of tourists between the two countries and the exchanges of experience and specialists, and will assist the specialization and training of cadres from appropriate organizations in the sphere of foreign tourism.

III

The parties will give particular attention to the development of new forms of cooperation between organizations from both countries—the establishment of direct production, scientific, and technical ties between USSR and SFRY enterprises, associations, and organizations, the establishment of joint enterprises, joint capital investment, and other forms of cooperation.

In the event of mutual interest, USSR and SFRY organizations will set up joint enterprises on USSR territory and will implement joint capital investment in the SFRY in accordance with their countries' legislation.

IV

The parties have agreed that the implementation of the Long-Term Program for Economic Cooperation Between the USSR and the SFRY Through the Year 2000 will be achieved by means of:

joint elaboration and conclusion of agreements on economic cooperation for 5-year or longer periods in spheres and sectors of mutual interest;

conclusion of contracts on cooperation in production, specialization, and production sharing, on reciprocal commodity deliveries, and on economic and technical cooperation in the construction, reconstruction, and modernization of industrial and other projects;

development of new forms of production cooperation and joint ventures in third country markets;

improvement of the financial, banking, and credit mechanism of cooperation;

development of economic cooperation between republics, regions, and cities in both countries.

The parties have agreed that the Intergovernmental Soviet-Yugoslav Committee on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation will supervise the implementation of the program either directly or through its working organs, will assist the conclusion of contracts and agreements between interested organs and organizations for the purpose of this program's implementation, and will recommend other measures aimed at the implementation and expansion of stable and mutually advantageous cooperation.

The Long-Term Program for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the SFRY for 1981-1990, dated 23 September 1980, will lapse upon the signing of this program.

The present program will enter into force following approval by competent organs of both countries, so that it will operate provisionally from the day of its signing.

Mikulic To Pay Official Visit to Hungary

LD312125 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1644 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—At the invitation of Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, will pay an official and friendly visit to the People's Republic of Hungary sometime between 10 and 20 April.

Zemljaric on Results of Economic Policies

LD312313 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—The results from implementing the program of measures for reducing inflation and stabilizing the economy, as well as the program of intervention measures, have justified our decision to bring them into force. Inflation, which in the second half of last year rose at a rapid pace, has slowed down. At the end of December 1987 inflation was 167 percent, and at the end of March this year 152.8 percent. Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the FEC, said this today at a session of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of the Republics and Provinces in a report on price trends and the economic situation at the beginning of the year.

Following years of delay, the removal of price disparities in the infrastructure, basic industries, and agriculture has put them in a more equal economic position. This has helped to halt the decline in production in both these sectors and in overall industrial production. By the end of February, iron ore production rose by about 17 percent, oil derivatives by 15 percent, construction material by 20.5, shipbuilding by 25, non-metals by 12, timber by 12, chemical products by about 4, transport vehicles by 6 percent, etc.

Over the entire period the supply of all forms of energy was very good.

Speaking on the country's foreign trade, Zemljaric stressed that in the period from 1 January to 28 March overall exports in U.S. dollars increased by 27 percent in comparison with the same period last year. There has also been an improvement in the regional structure of exports. At the same time, overall imports rose by 2.4 percent, with a 6 percent increase in the import of raw and reproduction material and an 11 percent rise in imports from developed countries. For the first time in a number of years, we have recorded a trade surplus,

especially in trade with the convertible currency areas, Zemljaric stressed. In the first 3 months the trade surplus with the convertible-currency area stood at $152 million. In the same period last year we had a $324 million deficit. These results and increased earnings from services and remittances from abroad resulted in positive trends in the current balance of payments.

The FEC vice president went on to add that in this period overall consumption decelerated and that despite their great increase in nominal terms, last year's personal incomes were down by 6.7 percent over the previous year.

Apart from the effort of intervention measures, this fall, according to Zemljaric, is the consequence of the failure to realize the planned gorwth of social product, low productivity, inadequate results in business, and the growth of inflation.

Though in the first months of the year the growth of inflation was slowed down, the process of a more real interpretation of income was initiated, as well as of decreasing reserves, and after a long period, the degree of self-financing of the economy has started to grow, the overall economic situation, according to Zemljaric, has not changed for the better. Because of repayments of annuities to foreign countries and insufficient total foreign exchange inflow, also including the failure to use approved foreign credits, the net capital outflow has continued. Because of this, from time to time it has not been possible to ensure continued supply of production with raw and reproduction materials, nor current payments for a part of exports. In the second half of the last and in the first quarter of this year, on the basis of negotiations with foreign commercial banks, a maturing part of the principal has not been repaid.

Last year's reduced economic activity has led to the reduction of overall income. The participation of the economy in the distributed income has been decreasing for 7 consecutive years. This was also the case in 1987 when the reduction was 4.6 percent. Losses increased by 348 percent, which is up by 43 percent on the overall net domestic accumulation because of exacerbated business results, as well as the more realistic establishing and interpreting of the economy's income. About 73 percent of losses were covered through applying revalorization and covering part of losses at the expense of business funds, but the liquidity of economy has substantially deteriorated because of the shortage of realistic resources for the coverage of revalorization income.

Developments have not been according to plan at the beginning of the year either in the sphere of finances, added Zemljaric, or in the credit-monetary policy.

The realistic level of total investments is also on the decrease. Especially unfavorable is the fact that in the economy there has been no serious economic selection of investments and that the initiated process of realistic evaluation of all production factors is carried out partially and slowly.

Zemljaric devoted special attention to price growth, saying that there are more consequences brought about by inconsistent implementation of the adopted decisions than by corrections made by the FEC.

A number of producers and salesmen fail to adhere to the established measures and increase the prices above the permitted level or make corrections arbitrarily. The prices of both products and services within the competence of the republics, provinces and municipalities, Zemljaric went on, are considerably above the level envisaged within the framework of measures for the elimination of the most pronounced price disparities. Various forms of additional payments, contributions and other aspects of so-called "gray prices" are again being extorted and tolerated in relations between organizations of associated labor as a separate aspect of failing to carry out decisions. [passage omitted]

A number of organizations continue to be inspired by mainly group-ownership interests. In addition, some crudely use their monopolistic status on the market and in various ways offer resistance to starting the process of real market competition. Such behavior, Zemljaric warned, is contrary to the established anti-inflation economic policy and is bringing an even deeper crisis upon the country, exacerbating living conditions of an increasing number of people, seriously threatening the socioeconomic and political system, and weakening the trust and prestige of our country in the world. [passage omitted]

On the basis of disclosed information on the deepening of the critical situation, Janez Zemljaric concluded that a need has increased for the comprehensive implementation of anti-inflation and development tasks already established.

Systemic changes are also necessary, he added. They will be prepared without waiting for the improvements to the Constitution, unless this proves necessary.

Priority, Zemljaric went on, will be given to changes in the sphere of foreign exchange transactions and the involvement of additional accumulation from abroad, as well as changes in the financial systems, small businesses, tax system, etc.

Also prepared are draft guidelines for changes to the economic structures and its modernisation and opening up toward the world.

Our imminent job, Zemljaric said, is to examine and adopt a plan for measures for the implementation of economic policy in 1988 after 15 May, when, together with the realization of corresponding presuppositions, a part of temporary intervention measures will be abandoned and adjusted and conditions established for a bigger change in economic criteria and the further implementation of the program of measures for the curbing of inflation and the stabilization of the economy.

Zemljaric then spoke about forming new relations with foreign creditors, saying that this is one of the main conditions for a more effective implementation of the anti-inflation policy.

He briefed delegates that the Yugoslav delegation and the IMF mission drafted an agreement in Belgrade yesterday on getting 1 year of stand-by credit from IMF funds. This agreement will be the basis of the reorganization of Yugoslav debt toward all creditors in keeping with the program of consolidating the country's external debt.

The mission accepted, Zemljaric stated, that all three phases of the agreement should be carried out on the basis of goals and tasks established in the program of measures for curbing inflation and stabilizing the economy in November 1987 and the resolution on the economic development of 1988. The drafted agreement is based on the concept of gradual revival of production and, at the same time, an intensified control over the domestic market. The increase of production would be oriented toward the export and the effects of rescheduling of debt toward creditors and the restriction of demand for the increase of accumulation, structural adjustment, and the technological development of our country.

The main basis for the policy of directing and limiting demand is present in the orientations of the program and measures for curbing inflation and stabilizing the economy. According to this, it is necessary to relieve our economy of unbearably high expenses for general and joint expenditure, and ensure that the conditions for the growth of personal incomes are linked with the real growth of income in the economy and adopted concept of adequate restrictive monetary policy.

This model of adapting demand was also used in other countries in the form of the so-called "nominal anchor." In our country it would not be used in the conditions of freezing prices and personal incomes, but rather of their moderate growth.

According to the agreement, Zemljaric continued, the increase of supply and exports would be stimulated by a gradual move toward the formation of prices according to the market conditions, the increase of free imports of goods, and a transfer to the operation of the foreign exchange market. This is without the application of article 110 of the law on foreign exchange business activity about priorities in payments, and through greater consideration for market criteria in the formation of the foreign exchange rate, with the application of all three criteria established by the law.

The degree and dynamics of these changes are in accordance with the orientations from the resolution for this year.

Aims and quantitative tasks in the sector of directing demand and the monetary-credit policy would be established on the bases of the calculated level of inflation, which would condition the effects of the market-based formation of prices, freer exports, more adequate policy of exchange rates, and economic growth. Estimates show that the calculated rate of inflation would be at a considerably lower level than in December 1987.

Proceeding from a so-called projected rate of inflation, monetary aggregates would be established, as well as the growth of general and joint consumption and personal incomes, in nominal limited amounts, cumulatively every quarter for the duration of the agreement.

According to the prepared possible agreement, the degree of free price formation would be slightly above the volume that was valid at the beginning of November 1987. The degree of liberalization of imports would be coordinated with it. Article 110 of the law on foreign exchange transactions would cease to be applied from the beginning of the validity of the agreement, which is envisaged for mid-May. [passage omitted]

The agreement that our country should conclude with the IMF would ensure the rescheduling of matured debt toward commercial banks for this year and for a long-term period. It would also represent a basis for the rescheduling of debt toward the governments members of the "Paris Club" for 1988, with prospects of later rescheduling, over several years, of this kind of our debt. The achieved agreement would, at the same time, ensure speedier use of fresh IMF funds, especially the funds of the international bank for reconstruction and development, as well as the structural adjustment and other purposes.

The delegations agreed that the realization of the agreement, that is, the program of stabilization and adjustment, will depend on support from all creditors concerning a considerable amount of so-called fresh funds. These would be exclusively used for development and structural changes and not for additional consumption. Negotiations on fresh funds have started with all creditors and part of these funds ought to be available before the beginning of the application of the agreement.

It has been assessed that the proposed agreement is in line with adopted orientations about reforming and restructuring the Yugoslav economy, established anti-inflation and stabilization policy, and that its full application could present a significant support to our efforts for a way out of the economic crisis. [passage omitted]

The past period of this year, he concluded, is not so much characterized by the results achieved as it was filled with intense activities for ensuring significant prerequisites for further efficient dealing with inflation and for creating conditions for a long-term development of the country.

Zagreb Prosecutor Bans Student Periodical

LD010922 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0835 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—The District Public Prosecutor's Office in Zagreb temporarily banned the Distribution of issue No 11 of STUDENTSKI LIST of 30 March.

The ban is imposed because of an article entitled "Dictator Is Coming" in which the honor and prestige of a friendly country and its president are insulted, which could upset the development of bilateral friendly relations.

Following the demand by the District Public Prosecutor's office that this issue of STUDENTSKI LIST should be permanently banned, the final decision about this will be made by the Zagreb District Court within the legally ensivaged period.

Vlasi Interviewed on Kosovo Problems

AU301016 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 26 Mar 88 p 6

["BORBA's Interview With Azem Vlasi, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium—We Are Burdened by Pledges From the Past"]

[Text] To what extent is the Kosovo crisis being solved? How have certain statements of Azem Vlasi in the last 2 years given rise to various expressions of public opinion, and have specifically resulted in misunderstandings between a section of the public, on one hand, and Azem Vlasi himself, on the other? It was this that prompted us to ask Azem Vlasi to give BORBA readers his own first-hand explanations and reactions to those still-current issues that have in a way cast a shadow over the work and personality of this young man, and also to comment himself on how these "short circuits" or misunderstandings have arisen on various occasions.

Political Assessments Represent a Further Step in the Political Program for Kosovo [subhead]

[BORBA] Our first question is: What has happened and what has changed in the last 2 years in Kosovo?

[Vlasi] First, we must recall that after 1981, apart from the effects of the counterrevolutionary events, we were seriously encumbered by a great deal of baggage from the past. It was continually claimed that we had not pushed differentiation through, that we had not followed through to its conclusion the question of responsibility among top leaders, and that we had not fully clarified some issues and problems from an earlier period that were subsequently overlaid by mistakes and failures in policies pursued up to 1981, and that led to the consequences of which we are all aware.

[BORBA] This was true. And can we take it that you encountered a similar situation in 1986?

[Vlasi] That is correct. We, as a new and revitalized leadership, encountered a situation such as had been familiar to us over the years. We realized that we could make no progress without shedding this baggage and removing it completely from the agenda. An awareness of such a necessity was created more quickly in public and party opinion than was the case immediately after the events of 1981.

[BORBA] What specifically are these problems and this baggage?

[Vlasi] First of all, we must consider at what period certain errors began to accumulate. We stated most clearly in our political assessments, thus taking a major step forward in the political program for Kosovo. We also stated that it was after 1968 that the dividing line began to be obscured between the positive process of the full affirmation of the national equality of the Albanians, on the one hand, and concessions to nationalism, surrender when faced with nationalism, or the widespread infiltration of nationalism into the social sphere on the other hand. We stated clearly in our assessments that this was a serious error, and that for the sake of present and future action we must clearly realize that the full national affirmation of the Albanian nationality cannot lead to concessions to nationalism, and that a clear line of demarcation must be set. This was necessary because at that time, and in a sense up to the present day as well, there were certain nationalist circles and other forces who did not understand or did not wish to understand the new process of putting a stop to nationalist ideology, and who attempted to interpret LC activity to repair the mistakes of the past as tending to limit the affirmation and rights of the Albanian nationality.

Second, contradictions in the depiction of the events and conflicts in the LC Provincial Committee in the early seventies clouded the present political orientation of the LC. It is clear that certain mistakes were made then that only came to light and became clear after the events of 1981. We in the LC Provincial Committee have examined and explained these issues, as far as this is possible so long after the event. I would even say that this has been done in a thoroughly satisfactory and genuine way. It has now long been clear what these mistakes were, how this situation was reflected in the Kosovo LC, in the leadership, and in the political situation, and what the consequences were. We drew lessons from these assessments for the present situation and the needs of the future. In practice, we politically rehabilitated certain people who had been unjustly treated, and who at the time had correctly pointed out certain tendencies and dangers that later had dire consequences.

This was welcomed by public opinion and in the party, and helped to consolidate the authority of the LC. People began to place more trust in the the present stance of the LC and the political leadership.

We Were in a Doubly Difficult Position [subhead]

[BORBA] In shedding this and other baggage from the past, you seemed to ignore immediate and current problems. What do you say to this?

[Vlasi] This was one of our great problems. We had to deal with pressing issues every day: improving the political and security situation, solving other daily problems of life, and planning strategies for the future.

Apart from this, we had to reaffirm the fundamental guidelines of LCY policy, so as not to repeat certain mistakes of the past, since, as you see, all vestiges of the past had to be purged. Of course, we inherited many unsolved issues. Everybody knows that there was much controversy, misunderstanding, and, if you wish, public confrontation in connection with certain outstanding problems on the use of the flag of the Albanian nationality. The LCY had taken a clear stand on the principles according to which this problem was to be solved. Meanwhile, people in Kosovo talked about this as an exceptionally sensitive issue that nobody dared to broach. However, we embarked sincerely and without prejudices on this task and found a solution in accordance with the stands of the LCY and SAWPY Presidiums and the SFRY Presidency. A proposal was presented to the SFRY Assembly a long time ago to introduce a law on nationalities' flags throughout the country, so that there will be unity in practice on this matter.

Thus, we eliminated the quandaries and problems surrounding this sensitive issue. The question of the so-called Bujan Conference was also still outstanding. In fact, the question has long been posed of why there is no clear official view on the contentious and clearly unacceptable section of the resolution adopted at that conference. People used to say that it is a historical question, and that there is no reason to delve into it. But nationalist and separatist elements exploited the issue for their own ends. Nor was it clear why the leadership had not made its stand on this issue earlier, and why it had been intimidated by malevolent insinuations. We cleared this matter up and defined a principled political standpoint, which was officially announced, and was accepted by public opinion. Besides this, we stressed clearly that our Marxist historical studies must deal objectively with the entirety of this problem.

[BORBA] Now, after a certain lapse of time, it seems that the years 1981-86 were a period of stalemate. The activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism was strongly evident, and the flow of emigration continued, while not just many ordinary people, but a considerable number of Communists did not participate in LCY activity. When the new and revitalized leadership tackled many "forgotten" problems with its "spring cleaning," everything began to somehow change, and yet it was then that the misunderstandings we have seen occurred between you and a section of public opinion. How do you explain this?

[Vlasi] One must bear in mind that the awareness of the need to get rid of certain things and for a "spring cleaning" only came slowly. We realized that there would be no results without widespread support for our activity among working people and citizens. Moreover, if you want to act for the broad masses, you cannot write prescriptions for them saying how they should behave, how they should commit themselves, or what such-and-such a thing means. It was up to us to create the atmosphere for a somewhat broader and more democratic dialogue as a precondition for involving people in action. Then, we wanted to invest the issue of differentiation with new, broader, and different content, so that it should not be conceived simply as a matter of drawing up blacklists or of witch-hunts, but should be an aspect of the ideological struggle and of ideological clarification, involving the definition of lines of demarcation. In order to present matters more clearly from the broader point of view of the LCY policy and program, we can ask what we have achieved. Let us take, for example, our most serious and sensitive problem—the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. For a time, after 1981, political analysis was dominated by such questions as whether the reasons for emigration were economic or political. This went on for a long time, and we allowed matters to slip through our fingers. We have now reached a more profound understanding of this problem as a political, social, psychological, intranational, and socioeconomic question. We now know that whatever the causes that prompt emigration, they are pregnant with far-reaching consequences for all of us. We must do our utmost to halt this process, or at least reduce it as far as possible. This problem must not be oversimplified. We have also reached total unity of viewpoint on a range of other problems.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Tangible Results—The Only Criteria [subhead]

Our leading bodies and forums in the province, and to a large extent in the communes too, are no longer what you might call tribunes where people endlessly try to convince each other of their opinions on various issues to which the LC has already given a clear answer. They are working more specifically, and it has become clear that tangible results are the only criteria of the success of our work. Unfortunately, the seriousness of the general situation not only in Kosovo but in the whole country is such that we have not achieved the desired results in many fields, especially in emigration. [end of boxed passage]

We Need No Bogus Radicalism [subhead]

[BORBA] It has been a feature of the last 2 years that the Albanian nationalists and separatists have greatly changed their working methods. How do you view this matter?

[Vlasi] Obviously, Albanian nationalism has shown itself to be persistent in its activity. Adapting to newly created social conditions, and knowing perfectly well that the Albanian nationality cannot be manipulated as before, Albanian nationalists, in a generally complicated situation, have turned to methods that keep alive or further promote tension, insecurity, confusion, and distrust. You might say that they throw a stone and then hide, because they have no more room for open activity on the political stage.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

In Broad Political Action [subhead]

Our guideline has been and remains to proceed with broad political action and to enact relevant measures, because only then will we know exactly how far Albanian nationalism has infiltrated itself into people's awareness. I believe that the struggle against nationalism will thereby become easier. It was easy for the Albanian nationalists when they were able to manipulate the Albanian nationality, and present themselves as their supposed protectors and representatives. Sometimes, alas, people had the impression that this was true. Now people realize better that it is none other than the LC that is their only true protector and the guarantor of their full national equality. [end of boxed passage]

[BORBA] At the very time when you mounted an assault against Albanian nationalism and separatism, you spoke on one occasion at the Pristina LC Communal Committee and mentioned in a certain context the word "chicken." The portion of your statement that reached the public ear was noisily received. Now, after the interval of 2 years, what do you think of this event?

[Vlasi] First, it must be stressed that everything we proposed, and all the issues we either included on or removed from the agenda, did not meet with equal approval everywhere. There have been those who are not satisfied, who would do things differently, and who are in favor of a kind of bogus radicalism. Such people always lie in wait for sentences, half-sentences, and inexact ideas expressed under certain circumstances.

I have always believed that we cannot really carry out political activity successfully if we offer the public stereotyped notions and ideas that were narrowly formulated long ago. We must work more broadly, and examine each problem more specifically. We are quite aware, for example, of the causes that encourage emigration. There are many of them and I do not want to talk about them just now. We say today that there are many fewer instances of brutal pressure, which is true. But there is still pressure of different kinds—economic, social, and personal, and we must now act accordingly. I therefore think that alongside solving these problems and eliminating the many causes of emigration, we must also call on people to remain where they are, so that we can fight together, for this is the common front of our struggle, and our common home. As for this specific case of misunderstanding, I was talking about certain people, mainly intellectuals, who leave for no very good reason. In other words, it is well known that they are not emigrating because of pressure. These very people moan about the position of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, but they have done nothing to halt emigration—on the contrary. It was these people that I called "chicken." Different newspapers reported my speech in different ways, and accusations followed as if I had called all those who have emigrated "chicken."

Of course, no madman would even think that, let alone say it. Yet I really do think that it is our common patriotic duty to stay here and solve our problems together.

We Are Not Imposing Artificial Symmetry on Nationalism [subhead]

[BORBA] How do you explain the fact that the first attacks on you and the first disagreements between you and public opinion concern your arrival as leader of the Kosovo LC?

[Vlasi] People in responsible positions in Kosovo find themselves in a particularly difficult situation, because their every word, their every thought is watched and analyzed. I would also say that that there are plenty of people who interpret everything we say according to their prejudices, and who go out of their way to find things that are unacceptable. The office in which I am placed objectively involves the greatest danger of this kind. There are also those who pathologically believe that we in Kosovo are insincere and malevolent, and that we hide our true face. They occasionally think they have tripped us up, and believe they have exposed us as low deceivers.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the text]

Everybody's Support [subhead]

Everything that Azem Vlasi spoke about found widespread support among Communists, working people, and citizens, not only in Kosovo, but throughout Yugoslavia. His election to the post of president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium in 1986 was warmly welcomed. There is almost no precedent of the election of a Kosovo politician being welcomed with such a revival of courage on the part of Serbs, Albanians, Montenegrins, Moslems, and others, and with the hope that the complicated, neglected issues of Kosovo would begin to be solved faster and more effectively. [end of boxed passage]

[BORBA] A further misunderstanding between you and public opinion arose after the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and the Kosovo Presidency

approved the assessments of the ideopolitical content and import of the slogans at the gatherings and demonstrations of Serbian and Montenegrin women in October last year. In fact, many people publicly advanced the theory that these were your personal assessments and not those of the Presidium and Presidency.

[Vlasi] Let us be clear that these are the assessments of the Presidium and the Presidency, as we publicly stated. I would like to say in this connection that there was not only goodwill on the part of the Presidium and the Presidency, but that there was also a genuine need for assessments to draw a clear dividing line between the real discontent which stems from our involved situation in general and that leads people to impetuous reactions and to gatherings that the majority in their heart of hearts know are not the real way to solve the problems, and those forms of manipulation that are increasingly evident. We need a dividing line between what is acceptable and what is nationalist. Such gatherings create conditions in which control can be lost, which may lead to unforeseen consequences. We would wish to prevent such manipulation and its consequences. It was neither our intention nor part of our responsibility to qualify, either obliquely or directly, all these phenomena and gatherings as nationalist, as some have claimed. We know that any such attempt would lead to further polarization and a deterioration of the situation, which would be alien to what we are doing. For all these reasons, we have proceeded very carefully and delicately with the assessments. We have stated what was unacceptable at the gatherings, and pointed out how certain slogans were manipulated. The most serious charge leveled against us is that we sought to impose a kind of symmetry between nationalisms, in this case equating Albanian with Serbian nationalism. In fact, I do not really know what this "symmetry between nationalisms" means. Nationalism is nationalism, and either exists or does not. Unfortunately, there is nationalism of all kinds among us. The means of struggle against it must be in proportion to the danger posed by a given form of nationalism and the way it manifests itself. We in Kosovo were the very first to say clearly and specifically that under our circumstances it is Albanian nationalism that poses the greatest danger. This is true of its method of operation, the nature of its program, and the way it manifests itself. We said this with utter clarity, because it is objectively we who know this best, and who have ourselves borne the burden. Other people talk about this only in a general way. For some others, nationalism does not even exist in Kosovo. We cannot agree to such assertions, not because we seek solace in identifying other forms of nationalism, but because of the truth. When we even mention another form of nationalism, it is said that we are imposing an artificial kind of symmetry.

(To be concluded tomorrow)

Conclusion of Interview

AU311300 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 27 Mar 88 p 4-5

["BORBA's Interview With Azem Vlasi, President of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium—Misunderstandings Are Also an Aspect of Dialogue"]

[Text] [BORBA] Was not your theory, reinforced by your assertion that Albanian nationalism is first and foremost a danger to the Albanian nationality itself in Yugoslavia, merely an additional cause for fresh misunderstanding among public opinion?

[Vlasi] This did indeed cause much misunderstanding among public opinion. But, in fact, this shows a failure to understand the essence of the danger posed by nationalism as a class enemy and an opponent of progress and socialism. As long as people think that nationalism poses a danger only to members of other peoples and nationalities, then they are deluded. In fact, we thereby abandon class and Marxist territory, which views nationalism as a platform for anticommunist, antisocialist, and counterrevolutionary ideology. It would be the same if we were to say that Serbian nationalism poses no danger for the Serbian people, but only for other peoples. This is false. Since we are on the subject, let me say that I think Serbian nationalism in Kosovo should not be discussed so much as a danger to the Albanian nationality, who make up almost 80 percent of the population here in Kosovo. I think both as a Communist and personally that this nationalism will do the most harm to the Serbian people themselves and to their position in general, and therefore to the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, if the symptoms of this nationalism are covered up. This form of nationalism must neither be exaggerated nor discounted. It is a serious error to believe that we can humor the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and thereby improve their position by tolerating Serbian nationalism and banning all mention of it. Of course, everything that I have said is based on principles, and does not in any way imply that I underestimate, in this specific case, the extent of anti-Serb and anti-Montenegrin prejudice among Albanian nationalists, whose ambitions for an ethnically pure Kosovo have led them to launch attacks on members of these peoples.

[BORBA] Comrade Azem, it nevertheless seems that the most important misunderstanding between you and public opinion arose after your statement at the tribune in Split. Your reply to a question concerning the position of the Albanians in Macedonia provoked a storm of outrage in that republic. How do you explain this?

[Vlasi] I explained some time ago what I was asked at Split and how I replied. It is clear from my explanation that I spoke about various reactions in Kosovo, and about how various issues have been treated in the media, and that it was not my intention to give an opinion about

the situation in Macedonia. I am sorry that this misunderstanding occurred, because it has given rise to various consequences both in Macedonia and Kosovo. I believe that all this will pass and that these misunderstandings will be forgotten.

[BORBA] Comrade Azem, highly responsible forums discussed your remark shortly afterwards, and very harshly condemned it. There were even calls that you should be made accountable. What do you think of all this?

[Vlasi] I think that it was entirely unnecessary. Even when problems and misunderstandings occur, we can always find proper ways to overcome them. If only we were as severe toward our true ideological opponents. I mean in general, and not only in this specific instance. In this case, we also saw how sensitive our general relationships are, and we must always bear this in mind. As far as I am concerned, I have learned lessons of wider application from all this. We need to develop broad and varied cooperation with the SR of Macedonia, with contacts in many fields of social life. This should be our primary goal, instead of the repeated misunderstandings that life produces.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

There Are Matters on Which We Think Differently [subhead]

[BORBA] The question of misunderstandings between the Kosovo leadership, among whom many consider you to be the first, and the Serbian leadership has also somehow remained unresolved in the press. What is the truth about this?

[Vlasi] Matters should not be depicted in this way, as misunderstandings between leaderships. There are no such misunderstandings. It is true that there are some specific matters on which we think differently. This is true, to the extent that it is true that there are specific instances of differences of opinion in every leadership, in Serbia, Kosovo, or anywhere else. Why do we make this into a problem? There are no general divergences or misunderstandings. Each one of us keeps his own counsel and then declares it at the proper time. We reach common standpoints through democratic dialogue and by overcoming differences. These are basic principles of democratic relations in our party—to have the right to your personal opinion and to put it forward freely until decisions and stands are adopted you should conform to according to the principle of democratic centralism. There are plenty of people who desire and welcome misunderstandings among leaders, who try and find as many differences as possible, and who spin rumors about conflicts, debacles, splits, and so forth. That is a totally different matter. [end of boxed passage]

Against Every Form of Isolation [subhead]

[BORBA] The way in which other parts of the country are discussed is an interesting question in our political life. For instance, thinking of the crisis in Kosovo since 1981, everybody has spoken about this part of our country as they think best. Different opinions have been given, individuals have been mentioned and criticized, and so on. Now, when some things are also happening in some other parts of the country, one hears the view that "an alien region" is taking too much interest in "our business." Why do people say this?

[Vlasi] You see, this involves a broader question of principle. We continually assert that we must strengthen unity in the LCY and in the country, and that we must combat the fragmentation of interests and every form of isolation within one's private concerns. We can strengthen this unity through a general democratic dialogue that implies responsibility and thorough attention to common interests. This is a vital issue in our relations.

[BORBA] Still on the subject of the tribune at Split, a further remark you made there has provoked reactions in public opinion. This was your reply on the deployment of the special unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Kosovo. How do you explain this now?

[Vlasi] This was a pure slip of the tongue. You remember how I explained this issue to foreign journalists at Brezovica only a week after the SFRY Presidency's decision. Why should I have changed my mind? The Presidency made such a decision, because they judged it necessary at the time.

[BORBA] Please tell us clearly whether you still today consider this decision to have been effective in assisting the general situation in Kosovo.

[Vlasi] The decision in connection with Clause 8 of the Law on State Security, considered as a whole, had a positive effect from the security point of view. This decision was first of all of substantial help to the forces of the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs, enabling them to perform their duties more effectively. The provincial authorities were not suspended, and their competences were not restricted. It was once again seen that our state security services belong to the whole country and that they must be seen to carry out their duties whenever and wherever the need arises. However, I must observe with satisfaction the need for the use of this militia unit did not arise.

[BORBA] Nevertheless, comrade president, views have been voiced here in the province and elsewhere claiming that there was also a negative, harmful side to this.

[Vlasi] The only negative aspect was the pompous way that we presented this decision to national and world opinion. The news was received as if something awful had suddenly happened in Kosovo that necessitated the dispatch and intervention of special forces. There was twaddle about it being a very large force. The SFRY

Presidency itself later considered that the way that information on this matter had been presented was unsatisfactory. This information went around the world fast, as a particularly choice news item, and thereby provoked some unfavorable comments. However, when everything was explained, matters quieted down, and everything was seen in proportion.

We Have No Need of the Policies of Various Cults [subhead]

[BORBA] Comrade Vlasi, are there misunderstandings between you and public opinion on the so-called self-appointed leaders of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo?

[Vlasi] There is no basis for any misunderstanding between myself and public opinion on this matter, since I have no personal conflicts of any kind in the sphere of political relations.

Where LC members are concerned, each person's responsibility and behavior must be assessed on the basis of specific facts about his attitude to the policies, decisions, standpoints, and activity of the LCY. Nobody can want to be an LC member, and still behave and act as he personally thinks fit, and not according to the standards of behavior in the LC. It seems that a misunderstanding does exist here, but it is a misunderstanding between these individuals and a number of Communists in their basic organizations, not between them and anyone among us in the leadership. It must be finally realized that a few chieftains [bajraktare], whoever they may be, cannot claim to represent the people more or better than the LC. In some places and under some circumstances, this has not always been thoroughly understood, but it will be.

We have already had bad experiences of people outside the LC attempting to put themselves forward as protectors of national interests. I have therefore always said that they cannot be measured by different yardsticks. If we start to pursue a policy of different yardsticks where matters of principle are involved, on grounds of circumstance, then we will lose our bearings and begin to desert fundamental LC standards.

Time will reveal everything in the end, and enable everything that is unclear under certain circumstances to be explained and understood, but the most important thing is that we cannot on any account abandon or discount the primary direction and position of the LC and the criteria by which people's responsibility is assessed, even on the excuse of postponing something until an appropriate level of awareness has been created. For example, I think it is a good thing that we are maintaining the principle that the basic LC organizations of these districts should examine and solve these problems themselves. There is no real problem in the LC Communal Committee making appropriate decisions in conformity with its statutes, and in people having the right, again in conformity with the statutes, to subsequently appeal against these decisions. But the essential issue is what the political effect at a given moment will be. The main aim is to create a positive effect. I believe that this will happen.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

I Have Asked No Pardon of Anybody [subhead]

[BORBA] Let us perhaps end by summing up the misunderstandings with public opinion.

[Vlasi] We are human beings, and are capable of imprecision and of leaving things half-said. Nevertheless, the purpose of my additional explanations in these instances was to avoid unnecessary consequences and more serious misunderstandings. But I have never stated anything in public that differs essentially from LCY policy or from the prescribed standpoints on certain specific issues. My additional explanations must therefore not be in any way construed as asking pardon of anybody. I cannot rid myself of the impression that many of those who inflate these minor misunderstandings do so consciously, in order to gradually create a picture of me as "a person who always has to apologize, who says something and then denies it." [end of boxed passage]